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DANTE'S

INFERNO

Rev. H. F. Cary





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TRANSLATED BY THE LATE

REV. HENRY FRANCIS CARY, M.A.

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THE VISION OF DANTE.

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**Hell.**  
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CANTO I.

ARGUMENT.

The writer, having lost his way in a gloomy forest, and being hindered by certain wild beasts from ascending a mountain, is met by Virgil, who promises to show him the punishments of Hell, and afterwards of Purgatory; and that he shall then be conducted by Beatrice into Paradise. He follows the Roman poet.

IN the midway¹ of this our mortal life,
I found me in a gloomy wood, astray
Gone from the path direct: and e'en to tell,
It were no easy task, how savage wild
That forest, how robust and rough its growth,
Which to remember² only, my dismay
Renews, in bitterness not far from death.
Yet, to discourse of what there good befel,
All else will I relate discover'd there.

How first I enter'd it I scarce can say,
Such sleepy dulness in that instant weigh'd
My senses down, when the true path I left;

¹ *In the midway.*] That the æra of the Poem is intended by these words to be fixed to the thirty-fifth year of the poet's age, A. D. 1300, will appear more plainly in Canto xxi. where that date is explicitly marked. In his *Convito*, human life is compared to an arch or bow, the highest point of which is, in those well framed by nature, at their thirty-fifth year. *Opere di Dante*, ediz. Ven. 8vo, 1793. t. i. p. 195. ² *Which to remember.*] "Even when I remember I am afraid, and trembling taketh hold on my flesh." Job xxi. 6.

But when a mountain's foot I reach'd, where closed
 The valley that had pierced my heart with dread,
 I look'd aloft, and saw his shoulders broad
 Already vested with that planet's beam,¹
 Who leads all wanderers safe through every way.

Then was a little respite to the fear,
 That in my heart's recesses² deep had lain
 All of that night, so pitifully past :
 And as a man, with difficult short breath,
 Forespent with toiling, 'scaped from sea to shore,
 Turns³ to the perilous wide waste, and stands
 At gaze ; e'en so my spirit, that yet fail'd,
 Struggling with terror, turn'd to view the straits
 That none hath past and lived. My weary frame
 After short pause recomforted, again
 I journey'd on over that lonely steep,
 The hinder foot still firmer⁴. Scarce the ascent
 Began, when, lo ! a panther⁵, nimble, light,
 And cover'd with a speckled skin, appear'd ;
 Nor, when it saw me, vanish'd ; rather strove
 To check my onward going ; that oft-times,
 With purpose to retrace my steps, I turn'd.

The hour was morning's prime, and on his way
 Aloft the sun ascended with those stars⁶,
 That with him rose when Love divine first moved
 Those its fair works : so that with joyous hope
 All things conspired to fill me, the gay skin⁷

¹ *That planet's beam.*] The sun. ² *My heart's recesses.*] Nel lago del cuor. Lombardi cites an imitation of this by Redi in his *Ditirambo* :

I buon vini son quegli, che aequetano
 Le procelle sì fosche e rubelle,
 Che nel lago del cuor l'anime inquietano.

³ *Turns.*] So in our Poet's second psalm :
 Come colui, che andando per lo bosco,
 Da spino punto, a quel sì volge e guarda.
 Even as one, in passing through a wood,
 Pierced by a thorn, at which he turns and looks.

⁴ *The hinder foot.*] It is to be remembered, that in ascending a hill the weight of the body rests on the hinder foot. ⁵ *A panther.*] Pleasure or luxury. ⁶ *With those stars.*] The sun was in Aries, in which sign he supposes it to have begun its course at the creation. ⁷ *The gay skin.*] A late editor of the *Divina Commedia*, Signor Zotti, has spoken of the present translation as the only one that has rendered this passage rightly : but Mr. Hayley had shown me the way, in his very skilful version of the first three Cantos of the *Inferno*, inserted in the notes to his *Essay on Epic Poetry* :

Of that swift animal, the matin dawn,
 And the sweet season. Soon that joy was chased,
 And by new dread succeeded, when in view
 A lion¹ came, 'gainst me as it appear'd,
 With his head held aloft and hunger-mad,
 That e'en the air was fear-struck. A she-wolf²
 Was at his heels, who in her leanness seem'd
 Full of all wants, and many a land hath made
 Disconsolate ere now. She with such fear
 O'erwhelm'd me, at the sight of her appall'd,
 That of the height all hope I lost. As one,
 Who, with his gain elated, sees the time
 When all unwares is gone, he inwardly
 Mourns with heart-gripping anguish; such was I,
 Haunted by that fell beast, never at peace,
 Who coming o'er against me, by degrees
 Impell'd me where the sun in silence rests³.

I now was raised to hope sublime
 By these bright omens of my fate benign,
 The beauteous beast and the sweet hour of prime.

All the commentators, whom I have seen, understand our Poet to say that the season of the year and the hour of the day induced him to hope for the gay skin of the panther; and there is something in the sixteenth Canto, verse 107, which countenances their interpretation, although that which I have followed still appears to me the more probable. ¹ *A lion.*] Pride or ambition. ² *A she-wolf.*] Avarice. It cannot be doubted that the image of these three beasts coming against him is taken by our author from the prophet Jeremiah, v. 6: "Wherefore a lion out of the forest shall slay them, and a wolf of the evenings shall spoil them, a leopard shall watch over their cities." Rossetti, following Dionisi and other later commentators, interprets Dante's leopard to denote Florence, his lion the king of France, and his wolf the Court of Rome. It is far from improbable that our author might have had a second allegory of this sort in his view; even as Spenser in the introductory letter to his poem, tells us that "in the Faery Queen he meant Glory in his general intention, but in his particular he conceived the most excellent and glorious person of his sovereign the Queen." "And yet" he adds, "in some places else I do otherwise shadow her." Such involution of allegorical meanings may well be supposed to have been frequently present to the mind of Dante throughout the composition of this poem. Whether his acute and eloquent interpreter, Rossetti, may not have been carried much too far in the pursuit of a favourite hypothesis, is another question; and I must avow my disbelief of the secret jargon imputed to our poet and the other writers of that time in the Comment on the Divina Commedia and in the Spirito Antipapale, the latter of which works is familiarized to the English reader in Miss Ward's faithful translation.

³ *Where the sun in silence rests.*]

The sun to me is dark, When she deserts the night,
 And silent as the moon, Hid in her vacant interlunar cave.

Milton; Sam Agon.

While to the lower space with backward step
 I fell, my ken discern'd the form of one
 Whose voice seem'd faint through long disuse of speech.
 When him in that great desert I espied,
 "Have mercy on me," cried I out aloud,
 "Spirit! or living man! whate'er thou be."

He answer'd: "Now not man, man once I was,
 And born of Lombard parents, Mantuans both
 By country, when the power of Julius¹ yet
 Was scarcely firm. At Rome my life was past,
 Beneath the mild Augustus, in the time
 Of fabled deities and false. A bard
 Was I, and made Anchises' upright son
 The subject of my song, who came from Troy,
 When the flames prey'd on Ilium's haughty towers².
 But thou, say wherefore to such perils past
 Return'st thou? wherefore not this pleasant mount
 Ascendest, cause and source of all delight?"
 "And art thou then that Virgil, that well-spring,
 From which such copious floods of eloquence
 Have issued?" I with front abash'd replied.
 "Glory and light of all the tuneful train!
 May it avail me, that I long with zeal
 Have sought thy volume, and with love immense
 Have conn'd it o'er. My master thou, and guide³!
 Thou he from whom alone I have derived
 That style, which for its beauty into fame
 Exalts me. See the beast, from whom I fled.

The same metaphor will recur, Canto v. verse 29.

Into a place I came

Where light was silent all.

¹ *When the power of Julius.*]

Nacqui sub Julio, ancorchè fosse tardi.

This is explained by the commentators: "Although it were rather late with respect to my birth, before Julius Cæsar assumed the supreme authority, and made himself perpetual dictator." Virgil indeed was born twenty-five years before that event.

² *Ilium's haughty towers.*]

Ceciditque superbum

Ilium.

Virgil, Æn. iii. 3.

³ *My master thou, and guide.*]

Tu se' lo mio maestro, e' l mio autore,

Tu se' solo colui.

Thou art my father, thou my author, thou.

Milton. P. L. ii. 864.

O save me from her, thou illustrious sage !
 For every vein and pulse throughout my frame
 She hath made tremble." He, soon as he saw
 That I was weeping, answer'd, "Thou must needs
 Another way pursue, if thou wouldst 'scape
 From out that savage wilderness. This beast,
 At whom thou criest, her way will suffer none
 To pass, and no less hindrance makes than death :
 So bad and so accursed in her kind,
 That never sated is her ravenous will,
 Still after food¹ more craving than before.
 To many an animal in wedlock vile
 She fastens, and shall yet to many more,
 Until that greyhound² come, who shall destroy
 Her with sharp pain. He will not life support
 By earth nor its base metals, but by love,
 Wisdom, and virtue ; and his land shall be
 The land 'twixt either Feltro³. In his might

¹ *Still after food.*] So Frezzi:

La voglia sempre ha fame, e mai non s'empie,
 Ed al più pasto più riman digiuna.

Il Quadriregio, lib. ii. cap. xi.

Venturi observes that the verse in the original is borrowed by Berni

² *That greyhound.*] This passage has been commonly understood as an eulogium on the liberal spirit of his Veronese patron, Can Grande della Scala. ³ *'Twixt either Feltro.*] Verona, the country of Can della Scala, is situated between Feltro, a city in the Marca Trivigiana, and Monte Feltro, a city in the territory of Urbino. But Dante perhaps does not merely point out the place of Can Grande's nativity, for he may allude further to a prophecy, ascribed to Michael Scot, which imported that the "Dog of Verona would be lord of Padua and of all the Marca Trivigiana." It was fulfilled in the year 1329, a little before Can Grande's death. See G. Villani Hist. l. x. cap. cv. and cxli. and some lively criticism by Gasparo Gozzi, entitled *Giudizio degli Antichi Poeti*, &c., printed at the end of the Zatta edition of Dante, t. iv. part ii. p. 15. The prophecy, it is likely, was a forgery ; for Michael died before 1300, when Can Grande was only nine years old. See Hell, xx. 115, and Par. xvii. 75. Troya has given a new interpretation to Dante's prediction, which he applies to Uguccione della Faggiola, whose country also was situated between two Feltros. See the *Veltro Allegorico* di Dante, p. 110. But after all the pains he has taken, this very able writer fails to make it clear that Uguccione, though he acted a prominent part as a Ghibelline leader, is intended here or in Purgatory, c. xxxiii. 38. The main proofs rest on an ambiguous report mentioned by Boccaccio of the Inferno being dedicated to him, and on a suspicious letter attributed to a certain friar Ilario, in which the friar describes Dante addressing him as a stranger, and desiring him to convey that portion of the poem to Uguccione. There is no direct allusion to him throughout the *Divina Commedia*, as there is to the other chief public protectors of our poet during his exile.

Shall safety to Italia's plains¹ arise,
 For whose fair realm, Camilla, virgin pure,
 Nisus, Euryalus, and Turnus fell.
 He, with incessant chase, through every towr.
 Shall worry, until he to hell at length
 Restore her, thence by envy first let loose.
 I, for thy profit pondering, now devise
 That thou mayst follow me; and I, thy guide,
 Will lead thee hence through an eternal space,
 Where thou shalt hear despairing shrieks, and see
 Spirits of old tormented, who invoke
 A second death²; and those next view, who dwell
 Content in fire³, for that they hope to come,
 Whene'er the time may be, among the blest,
 Into whose regions if thou then desire
 To ascend, a spirit worthier⁴ than I
 Must lead thee, in whose charge, when I depart,
 Thou shalt be left: for that Almighty King,
 Who reigns above, a rebel to his law
 Adjudges me; and therefore hath decreed
 That, to his city, none through me should come.
 He in all parts hath sway; there rules, there holds
 His citadel and throne. O happy those,
 Whom there he chuses!" I to him in few:
 "Bard! by that God, whom thou didst not adore,
 I do beseech thee (that this ill and worse
 I may escape) to lead me where thou said'st,
 That I Saint Peter's gate⁵ may view, and those
 Who, as thou tell'st, are in such dismal plight."
 Onward he moved, I close his steps pursued.

¹ *Italia's plains.*] "Umile Italia," from Virgil, *Æn.* lib. iii. 522.
Humilemque videmus

Italiam.

² *A second death.*] "And in these days men shall seek death, and shall not find it; and shall desire to die, and death shall flee from them." Rev. ix. 6.

³ *Content in fire.*] The spirits in Purgatory. ⁴ *A spirit worthier.*] Beatrice, who conducts the Poet through Paradise. ⁵ *Saint Peter's gate.*] The gate of Purgatory, which the Poet feigns to be guarded by an angel placed on that station by St. Peter

CANTO II.

ARGUMENT.

After the invocation, which poets are used to prefix to their works, he shows, that, on a consideration of his own strength, he doubted whether it sufficed for the journey proposed to him, but that, being comforted by Virgil, he at last took courage, and followed him as his guide and master.

Now was the day departing¹, and the air,
Imbrownd with shadows, from their toils released
All animals on earth; and I alone
Prepared myself the conflict to sustain,
Both of sad pity, and that perilous road,
Which my unerring memory shall retrace.

O Muses! O high genius! now vouchsafe
Your aid. O mind²! that all I saw hast kept
Safe in a written record, here thy worth
And eminent endowments come to proof.

I thus began: "Bard! thou who art my guide,
Consider well, if virtue be in me
Sufficient, ere to this high enterprise
Thou trust me. Thou hast told that Silvius' sire³,
Yet clothed in corruptible flesh, among
The immortal tribes had entrance, and was there
Sensibly present. Yet if heaven's great Lord,
Almighty foe to ill, such favour show'd
In contemplation of the high effect,
Both what and who from him should issue forth,
It seems in reason's judgment well deserved;
Sith he of Rome and of Rome's empire wide,
In heaven's empyreal height was chosen sire:
Both which, if truth be spoken, were ordain'd

¹ *Now was the day.*] A compendium of Virgil's description, *Æn.* lib. iv. 522. Compare Apollonius Rhodius, lib. iii. 744. and lib. iv. 1058.

The day gan failin; and the darke night,
That revith bestis from their businesse,

Berafte me my booke, &c. *Chaucer. The Assemlie of Foules*

² *O mind.*]

O thought! that write all that I met, Of my braine, now shall men see
And in the tresorie it set If any virtue in thee be.

Chaucer. Temple of Fame, b. ii. v. 18.

³ *Silvius' sire.*] *Æneas.*

And stablish'd for the holy place, where sits
 Who to great Peter's sacred chair succeeds.
 He from this journey, in thy song renown'd,
 Learn'd things, that to his victory gave rise
 And to the papal robe. In after-times
 The chosen vessel¹ also travel'd there²,
 To bring us back assurance in that faith
 Which is the entrance to salvation's way.
 But I, why should I there presume? or who
 Permits it? not Æneas I, nor Paul.
 Myself I deem not worthy, and none else
 Will deem me. I, if on this voyage then
 I venture, fear it will in folly end.
 Thou, who art wise, better my meaning know'st,
 Than I can speak." As one, who unresolves
 What he hath late resolved, and with new thoughts
 Changes his purpose, from his first intent
 Removed; e'en such was I on that dun coast,
 Wasting in thought my enterprise, at first
 So eagerly embraced. "If right thy words
 I scan," replied that shade magnanimous,
 "Thy soul is by vile fear assail'd³, which oft
 So overcasts a man, that he recoils
 From noblest resolution, like a beast
 At some false semblance in the twilight gloom.
 That from this terror thou mayst free thyself,
 I will instruct thee why I came, and what
 I heard in that same instant, when for thee
 Grief touch'd me first. I was among the tribe,
 Who rest suspended⁴, when a dame, so blest
 And lovely I besought her to command,
 Call'd me; her eyes were brighter than the star
 Of day; and she, with gentle voice and soft,
 Angelically tuned, her speech address'd:

¹ *The chosen vessel.*] St. Paul. Acts ix. 15. "But the Lord said unto him, Go thy way; for he is a chosen vessel unto me." ² *There.*] This refers to "the immortal tribes," v. 15. St. Paul having been caught up to heaven. 2 Cor. xii. 2. ³ *Thy soul is by vile fear assail'd.*]

L'anima tua è da viltate offesa.

So in Berni, Orl. Inn. lib. iii. c. i. st. 53. Se l'alma avete offesa da viltate

⁴ *Who rest suspended.*] The spirits in Limbo, neither admitted to a state of glory nor doomed to punishment.

' O courteous shade of Mantua ! thou whose fame
 ' Yet lives, and shall live long as nature lasts¹ !
 ' A friend, not of my fortune but myself²,
 ' On the wide desert in his road has met
 ' Hindrance so great, that he through fear has turn'd.
 ' Now much I dread lest he past help have stray'd,
 ' And I be risen too late for his relief,
 ' From what in heaven of him I heard. Speed now,
 ' And by thy eloquent persuasive tongue,
 ' And by all means for his deliverance meet,
 ' Assist him. So to me will comfort spring.
 ' I, who now bid thee on this errand forth,
 ' Am Beatrice³; from a place I come
 ' Revisited with joy. Love brought me thence,
 ' Who prompts my speech. When in my Master's sight
 ' I stand, thy praise to him I oft will tell.'

"She then was silent, and I thus began :

' O Lady ! by whose influence alone
 ' Mankind excels whatever is contain'd⁴
 ' Within that heaven which hath the smallest orb,
 ' So thy command delights me, that to obey,
 ' If it were done already, would seem late.
 ' No need hast thou further to speak thy will :
 ' Yet tell the reason, why thou art not loth
 ' To leave that ample space, where to return
 ' Thou burnest, for this centre here beneath.'

"She then : ' Since thou so deeply wouldst inquire,
 ' I will instruct thee briefly why no dread
 ' Hinders my entrance here. Those things alone
 ' Are to be fear'd whence evil may proceed ;

¹ *As nature lasts.*] Quanto 'l moto lontana. "Mondo," instead of "moto," which Lombardi claims as a reading peculiar to the Nidobeatina edition and some MSS., is also in Landino's edition of 1484. Of this Monti was not aware. See his *Proposta*, under the word "Lontanare." ² *A friend, not of my fortune but myself.*] Se non fortunæ sed hominibus solere esse amicum. *Cornelii Nepotis Attici Vitæ*, c. ix.

Cætera fortunæ, non mea turba, fuit. *Ovid. Trist. lib. i. el. 5. 34.*

My Fortune and my seeming destiny

He made the bond, and broke it not with me.

Coleridge's Death of Wallenstein, act i. sc. 7.

³ *Beatrice.*] The daughter of Folco Portinari, who is here invested with the character of celestial wisdom or theology. See the *Life of Dante* prefixed. ⁴ *Whatever is contain'd.*] Every other thing comprised within the lunar heaven, which, being the lowest of all, has the smallest circle.

' None else, for none are terrible beside.
 I am so framed by God, thanks to his grace !
 ' That any sufferance of your misery
 ' Touches me not, nor flame of that fierce fire
 Assails me. In high heaven a blessed dame¹
 ' Resides, who mourns with such effectual grief
 ' That hindrance, which I send thee to remove,
 That God's stern judgment to her will inclines.
 To Lucia² calling, her she thus bespake :
 " Now doth thy faithful servant need thy aid,
 " And I commend him to thee." At her word
 ' Sped Lucia, of all cruelty the foe,
 ' And coming to the place, where I abode
 ' Seated with Rachel, her of ancient days,
 ' She thus address'd me : " Thou true praise of God !
 " Beatrice ! why is not thy succour lent
 " To him, who so much loved thee, as to leave
 " For thy sake all the multitude admires ?
 " Dost thou not hear how pitiful his wail,
 " Nor mark the death, which in the torrent flood,
 " Swoln mightier than a sea, him struggling holds ?"
 ' Ne'er among men did any with such speed
 ' Haste to their profit, flee from their annoy,
 ' As, when these words were spoken, I came here,
 ' Down from my blessed seat, trusting the force
 ' Of thy pure eloquence, which thee, and all
 ' Who well have mark'd it, into honour brings.'
 " When she had ended, her bright beaming eyes
 Tearful she turn'd aside ; whereat I felt
 Redoubled zeal to serve thee. As she will'd,
 Thus am I come : I saved thee from the beast,
 Who thy near way across the goodly mount
 Prevented. What is this comes o'er thee then ?
 Why, why dost thou hang back ? why in thy breast
 Harbour vile fear ? why hast not courage there,

¹ *A blessed dame.*] The Divine Mercy. ² *Lucia.*] The enlightening Grace of Heaven ; as it is commonly explained. But Lombardi has well observed, that as our Poet places her in the Paradise, c. xxxii., amongst the souls of the blessed, so it is probable that she, like Beatrice, had a real existence ; and he accordingly supposes her to have been Saint Lucia the martyr, although she is here representative of an abstract idea.

And noble daring ; since three maids¹, so blest,
Thy safety plan, e'en in the court of heaven ;
And so much certain good my words forebode ?”

As florets², by the frosty air of night
Bent down and closed, when day has blanch'd their leaves,
Rise all unfolded on their spiry stems ;
So was my fainting vigour new restored,
And to my heart such kindly courage ran,
That I as one undaunted soon replied :
“ O full of pity she, who undertook
My succour ! and thou kind, who didst perform
So soon her true behest ! With such desire
Thou hast disposed me to renew my voyage,
That my first purpose fully is resumed.
Lead on : one only will is in us both.
Thou art my guide, my master thou, and lord.”
So spake I ; and when he had onward moved,
I enter'd on the deep and woody way.

CANTO III.

ARGUMENT.

Dante, following Virgil, comes to the gate of Hell ; where, after having read the dreadful words that are written thereon, they both enter. Here, as he

¹ *Three maids.*] The Divine Mercy, Lucia, and Beatrice.

² *As florets.*] Come fioretto dal notturno gelo
Chinato e chiuso, poi che il sol l'imbianca,
S'apre e si leva dritto sopra il stelo.

Boccaccio. Il Filostrato, p. iii. st. xiii.

But right as floures through the cold of night
Iclosed, stoupen in her stalkes lowe,
Redressen hem agen the sunne bright,
And spreden in her kinde course by rowe, &c.

Chaucer. Troilus and Creseide, b. ii.

It is from Boccaccio rather than Dante that Chaucer has taken this simile, which he applies to Troilus on the same occasion as Boccaccio has done. He appears indeed to have imitated or rather paraphrased the *Filostrato* in his *Troilus and Creseide* ; for it is not yet known who that Lollius is, from whom he professes to take the poem, and who is again mentioned in the *House of Fame*, b. iii. The simile in the text has been imitated by many others ; among whom see Berni, *Orl. Inn. lib. 1. c. xii. st. 86.* Marino, *Adone, c. xvii. st. 63.* and Son. “ Donna vestita di nero,” and Spenser’s *Faery Queen*, b. iv. c. xii. st. 34. and b. vi. c. ii. st. 35. and Boccaccio again in the *Teseide*, lib. 9. st. 28.

understands from Virgil, those were punished who had past their time (for living it could not be called) in a state of apathy and indifference both to good and evil. Then pursuing their way, they arrive at the river Acheron; and there find the old ferryman Charon, who takes the spirits over to the opposite shore; which as soon as Dante reaches, he is seized with terror, and falls into a trance.

“THROUGH me you pass into the city of woe :
Through me you pass into eternal pain :
Through me among the people lost for aye.
Justice the founder of my fabric moved :
To rear me was the task of power divine,
Supremest wisdom, and primeval love¹.
Before me things create were none, save things
Eternal, and eternal I endure.

All hope abandon², ye who enter here.”

Such characters, in colour dim, I mark’d
Over a portal’s lofty arch inscribed.
Whereat I thus : “Master, these words import
Hard meaning.” He as one prepared replied :
“Here thou must all distrust behind thee leave ;
Here be vile fear extinguish’d. We are come
Where I have told thee we shall see the souls
To misery doom’d, who intellectual good
Have lost.” And when his hand³ he had stretch’d forth
To mine, with pleasant looks, whence I was cheer’d,
Into that secret place he led me on.

Here sighs⁴, with lamentations and loud moans,
Resounded through the air pierced by no star,
That e’en I wept at entering. Various tongues,
Horrible languages, outcries of woe,
Accents of anger, voices deep and hoarse,

¹ ———Power divine,
Supremest wisdom, and primeval love.]

The three Persons of the Blessed Trinity.

² All hope abandon.] Lasciate ogni speranza voi ch’ entrate.

So Berni, Orl. Inn. lib. 1. c. 8. st. 53. Lascia pur della vita ogni speranza.

³ And when his hand.]

With that my hand in his he caught anone ;
On which I comfort caught, and went in fast.

Chaucer. *The Assemlie of Foules*.

⁴ Here sighs.] “Post hæc omnia ad loca tartarea, et ad os infernalis baratri deductus sum, qui simile videbatur puteo, loca vero eadem horridis tenebris, fætoribus exhalantibus, stridoribus quoque et nimis plena erant ejulatibus, juxta quem infernum vermis erat infinitæ magnitudinis, ligatus maxima catena.” *Alberici Visio*, § 9.

With hands together smote that swell'd the sounds,
 Made up a tumult, that for ever whirls
 Round through that air with solid darkness stain'd,
 Like to the sand¹ that in the whirlwind flies.

I then, with error² yet encompass'd, cried :
 " O master ! what is this I hear ? what race
 Are these, who seem so overcome with woe ? "

He thus to me : " This miserable fate
 Suffer the wretched souls of those, who lived
 Without or praise or blame, with that ill band
 Of angels mix'd, who nor rebellious proved,
 Nor yet were true to God, but for themselves
 Were only. From his bounds Heaven drove them forth
 Not to impair his lustre ; nor the depth
 Of Hell receives them, lest the accursed tribe³
 Should glory thence with exultation vain. "

I then : " Master ! what doth aggrrieve them thus,
 That they lament so loud ? " He straight replied :
 " That will I tell thee briefly. These of death
 No hope may entertain : and their blind life
 So meanly passes, that all other lots
 They envy. Fame⁴ of them the world hath none,
 Nor suffers ; mercy and justice scorn them both.
 Speak not of them, but look, and pass them by. "

And I, who straightway look'd, beheld a flag⁵,

¹ *Like to the sand.*] — Unnumber'd as the sands
 Of Barca or Cyrene's torrid soil,
 Levied to side with warring winds, and poise
 Their lighter wings. — *Milton, P. L. b. ii. 903.*

² *With error.*] Instead of "error," Vellutello's edition of 1544 has "error," a reading remarked also by Landino, in his notes. So much mistaken is the collator of the Monte Casino MS. in calling it "lezione da niuno notata;" "a reading which no one has observed." ³ *Lest the accursed tribe.*] Lest the rebellious angels should exult at seeing those who were neutral, and therefore less guilty, condemned to the same punishment with themselves. Rossetti, in a long note on this passage, has ably exposed the plausible interpretation of Monti, who would have "alcuna gloria" mean "no glory," and thus make Virgil say "that the evil ones would derive no honour from the society of the neutral." A similar mistake in the same word is made elsewhere by Lombardi. See my note on c. xii. v. 9.

⁴ *Fame.*] Cancel'd from heaven and sacred memory,
 Nameless in dark oblivion let them dwell.
Milton, P. L. b. vi. 380.

Therefore eternal silence be their doom. *Ibid. 385.*

A flag.] — All the grisly legions that troop
 Under the sooty flag of Acheron. *Milton, Comus.*

Which whirling ran around so rapidly,
That it no pause obtain'd: and following came
Such a long train of spirits, I should ne'er
Have thought that death so many had despoil'd.

When some of these I recognised, I saw
And knew the shade of him, who to base fear¹
Yielding, abjured his high estate. Forthwith
I understood, for certain, this the tribe
Of those ill spirits both to God displeasing
And to his foes. These wretches, who ne'er lived,
Went on in nakedness, and sorely stung
By wasps and hornets, which bedew'd their cheeks
With blood, that, mix'd with tears, dropp'd to their feet,
And by disgustful worms was gather'd there.

Then looking further onwards, I beheld
A throng upon the shore of a great stream:
Whereat I thus: "Sir! grant me now to know
Whom here we view, and whence impell'd they seem
So eager to pass o'er, as I discern
Through the blear light²?" He thus to me in few:
"This shalt thou know, soon as our steps arrive
Beside the woeful tide of Acheron."

Then with eyes downward cast, and fill'd with shame,
Fearing my words offensive to his ear,
Till we had reach'd the river, I from speech
Abstain'd. And lo! toward us in a bark
Comes on an old man³, hoary white with eld,

¹ ——— Who to base fear

Yielding, abjured his high estate.——]

This is commonly understood of Celestine the Fifth, who abdicated the papal power in 1294. Venturi mentions a work written by Innocenzio Barcellini, of the Celestine order, and printed at Milan in 1701, in which an attempt is made to put a different interpretation on this passage. Lombardi would apply it to some one of Dante's fellow-citizens, who, refusing, through avarice or want of spirit, to support the party of the Bianchi at Florence, had been the main occasion of the miseries that befel them. But the testimony of Fazio degli Uberti, who lived so near the time of our author, seems almost decisive on this point. He expressly speaks of the Pope Celestine as being in hell. See the *Dittamondo*, L. iv. cap. xxi. The usual interpretation is further confirmed in a passage in *Canto xxvii. v. 101*. Petrarch, while he passes a high encomium on Celestine for his abdication of the papal power, gives us to understand that there were others who thought it a disgraceful act. See the *De Vitâ Solit. b. ii. sect. iii. c. 18*. ² *Through the blear light.*] *Lo fioco lume.* So Filicaja, *canz. vi. st. 12*: *Qual fioco lume.*

³ *An old man.*] *Portitor has horrendus aquas et flumina servat*

Crying, "Woe to you, wicked spirits! hope not
 Ever to see the sky again. I come
 To take you to the other shore across,
 Into eternal darkness, there to dwell
 In fierce heat and in ice¹. And thou, who there
 Standest, live spirit! get thee hence, and leave
 These who are dead." But soon as he beheld
 I left them not, "By other way," said he,
 "By other haven shalt thou come to shore,
 Not by this passage; thee a nimbler boat²
 Must carry." Then to him thus spake my guide:
 "Charon! thyself torment not: so 't is will'd,
 Where will and power are one: ask thou no more."

Straightway in silence fell the shaggy cheeks
 Of him, the boatman o'er the livid lake³,
 Around whose eyes glared wheeling flames. Meanwhile
 Those spirits, faint and naked, colour changed,
 And gnash'd their teeth, soon as the cruel words
 They heard. God and their parents they blasphemed,
 The human kind, the place, the time, and seed,
 That did engender them and give them birth.

Then all together sorely wailing drew
 To the curst strand, that every man must pass
 Who fears not God. Charon, demoniac form,
 With eyes of burning coal⁴, collects them all,
 Beckoning, and each, that lingers, with his oar

Terribili squalore Charon, cui plurima mento
 Canities inculta jacet; stant lumina flammâ.

Virg. Æn. lib. vi. 298.

¹ *In fierce heat and in ice.*] —The bitter change

Of fierce extremes, extremes by change more fierce,
 From beds of raging fire to starve in ice

Their soft ethereal warmth. — *Milton, P. L.* b. ii. 601.

—The delighted spirit

To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside

In thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice. *Shakspeare, Measure for Measure*, a. iii. s. 1. See note to C. xxxii. 23.

² *A nimbler boat.*] He perhaps alludes to the bark "swift and light," in which the Angel conducts the spirits to Purgatory. See *Purg.* c. ii. 40.

³ *The livid lake.*] *Vada livida.* *Virg. Æn.* lib. vi. 320.

—Totius ut lacûs putidæque paludis

Lividissima, maximeque est profunda vorago. *Catullus*, xviii. 10.
With eyes of burning coal.]

His looks were dreadful, and his fiery eyes,

Like two great beacons, glared bright and wide.

Spenser, F. Q. b. vi. c. vii. st. 42

Strikes. As fall off the light autumnal leaves¹,
 One still another following, till the bough
 Strews all its honours on the earth beneath;
 E'en in like manner Adam's evil brood
 Cast themselves, one by one, down from the shore,
 Each at a beck, as falcon at his call².

Thus go they over through the umber'd wave;
 And ever they on the opposing bank
 Be landed, on this side another throng
 Still gathers. "Son," thus spake the courteous guide,
 "Those who die subject to the wrath of God
 All here together come from every clime,
 And to o'erpass the river are not loth:
 For so heaven's justice goads them on, that fear
 Is turn'd into desire. Hence ne'er hath past
 Good spirit. If of thee Charon complain,
 Now mayst thou know the import of his words."

This said, the gloomy region trembling shook
 So terribly, that yet with clammy dews
 Fear chills my brow. The sad earth gave a blast,
 That, lightening, shot forth a vermilion flame,
 Which all my senses conquer'd quite, and I
 Down dropp'd, as one with sudden slumber seized.

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## CANTO IV.

### ARGUMENT.

The Poet, being roused by a clap of thunder, and following his guide onwards, descends into Limbo, which is the first circle of Hell, where he finds the souls of those, who, although they have lived virtuously and have not to suffer for great sins, nevertheless, through lack of baptism, merit not the bliss of Paradise. Hence he is led on by Virgil to descend into the second circle.

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<sup>1</sup> *As fall off the light autumnal leaves.*]

Quam multa in silvis autumni frigore primo

Labsa cadunt folia.—

*Virg. Æn. lib. vi. 309.*

Thick as autumnal leaves, that strew the brooks

In Vallombrosa, where the Etrurian shades

High over-arch'd imbower.

*Milton, P. L. b. i. 304.*

Compare Apoll. Rhod. lib. iv. p. 214.

<sup>2</sup> *As falcon at his call.*] This is Vellutello's explanation, and seems preferable to that commonly given: "as a bird that is enticed to the cage by the call of another."



BROKE the deep slumber in my brain a crash  
 Of heavy thunder, that I shook myself,  
 As one by main force roused. Risen upright,  
 My rested eyes I moved around, and search'd,  
 With fixed ken, to know what place it was  
 Wherein I stood. For certain, on the brink  
 I found me of the lamentable vale,  
 The dread abyss, that joins a thundrous sound  
 Of plaints innumerable. Dark and deep,  
 And thick with clouds o'erspread, mine eye in vain  
 Explored its bottom, nor could aught discern.

"Now let us to the blind world there beneath  
 Descend;" the bard began, all pale of look:  
 "I go the first, and thou shalt follow next."

Then I, his alter'd hue perceiving, thus:  
 "How may I speed, if thou yieldest to dread,  
 Who still art wont to comfort me in doubt?"

He then: "The anguish of that race below  
 With pity stains my cheek, which thou for fear  
 Mistakest. Let us on. Our length of way  
 Urges to haste." Onward, this said, he moved;  
 And entering led me with him, on the bounds  
 Of the first circle that surrounds the abyss.

Here, as mine ear could note, no plaint was heard  
 Except of sighs, that made the eternal air  
 Tremble, not caused by tortures, but from grief  
 Felt by those multitudes, many and vast,  
 Of men, women, and infants. Then to me  
 The gentle guide: "Inquirest thou not what spirits  
 Are these which thou beholdest? Ere thou pass  
 Farther, I would thou know, that these of sin  
 Were blameless; and if aught they merited,  
 It profits not, since baptism was not theirs,  
 The portal<sup>2</sup> to thy faith. If they before

<sup>1</sup> *A thundrous sound.*] Imitated, as Mr. Thyer has remarked, by Milton,  
 P. L. b. viii. 242:

—But long, ere our approaching, heard  
 Noise, other than the sound of dance or song,  
 Torment, and loud lament, and furious rage.

<sup>2</sup> *Portal.*] "Porta della fede." This was an alteration made in the text  
 by the Academicians della Crusca, on the authority, as it would appear, of  
 only two MSS. The other reading is "parte della fede;" "part of the faith."

The Gospel lived, they served not God aright ;  
 And among such am I. For these defects,  
 And for no other evil, we are lost ;  
 Only so far afflicted, that we live  
 Desiring without hope<sup>1</sup>.” Sore grief assail’d  
 My heart at hearing this, for well I knew  
 Suspended in that Limbo many a soul  
 Of mighty worth. “O tell me, sire revered !  
 Tell me, my master !” I began, through wish  
 Of full assurance in that holy faith  
 Which vanquishes all error ; “say, did e’er  
 Any, or through his own or other’s merit,  
 Come forth from thence, who afterward was blest ?”

Piercing the secret purport<sup>2</sup> of my speech,  
 He answer’d : “I was new to that estate.  
 When I beheld a puissant one<sup>3</sup> arrive  
 Amongst us, with victorious trophy crown’d.  
 He forth<sup>4</sup> the shade of our first parent drew,  
 Abel his child, and Noah righteous man,  
 Of Moses lawgiver for faith approved,  
 Of patriarch Abraham, and David king,  
 Israel with his sire and with his sons,  
 Nor without Rachel whom so hard he won,  
 And others many more, whom he to bliss  
 Exalted. Before these, be thou assured,

<sup>1</sup> *Desiring without hope.*]

And with desire to languish without hope. *Milton, P. L. b. x. 995.*

<sup>2</sup> *Secret purport.*] Lombardi well observes, that Dante seems to have been restrained by awe and reverence from uttering the name of Christ in this place of torment ; and that for the same cause, probably, it does not occur once throughout the whole of this first part of the poem. <sup>3</sup> *A puissant one.*] Our Saviour. <sup>4</sup> *He forth.*] The author of the *Quadriregio* has introduced a sublime description into his imitation of this passage —

Pose le reni là dove si serra ;  
 Ma Cristo lui e 'l catarcion d' acciaio  
 E queste porte allora gettò a terra.  
 Quando in la grotta entrò 'l lucido rajo,  
 Adamo disse : questo è lo splendore  
 Che mi spirò in faccia da primajo.

Venuto se' aspettato Signore. *L. ii. cap. 3.*

Satan hung writhing round the bolt ; but him,  
 The huge portcullis, and those gates of brass,  
 Christ threw to earth. As down the cavern stream'd  
 The radiance : “Light,” said Adam, “this, that breathed  
 First on me. Thou art come, expected Lord !”

Much that follows is closely copied by Frezzi from our Poet.

No spirit of human kind was ever saved."

We, while he spake, ceased not our onward road,  
Still passing through the wood; for so I name  
Those spirits thick beset. We were not far  
On this side from the summit, when I kenn'd  
A flame, that o'er the darken'd hemisphere  
Prevailing shined. Yet we a little space  
Were distant, not so far but I in part,  
Discover'd that a tribe in honour high  
That place possess'd. "O thou, who every art  
And science valuest! who are these, that boast  
Such honour, separate from all the rest?"

He answer'd: "The renown of their great names,  
That echoes through your world above, acquires  
Favour in heaven, which holds them thus advanced."  
Meantime a voice I heard: "Honour the bard  
Sublime<sup>1</sup>! his shade returns, that left us late!"  
No sooner ceased the sound, than I beheld  
Four mighty spirits toward us bend their steps,  
Of semblance neither sorrowful nor glad<sup>2</sup>.

When thus my master kind began: "Mark him,  
Who in his right hand bears that falchion keen,  
The other three preceding, as their lord.  
This is that Homer, of all bards supreme:  
Flaccus the next, in satire's vein excelling;  
The third is Naso; Lucan is the last.  
Because they all that appellation own,  
With which the voice singly accosted me,  
Honouring they greet me thus, and well they judge."

So I beheld united the bright school  
Of him the monarch of sublimest song<sup>3</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> *Honour the bard—Sublime.*] Onorate l' altissimo poeta. So Chiabrera, Canz. Erioche. 32. Onorando l' altissimo poeta.

<sup>2</sup> *Of semblance neither sorrowful nor glad.*]

She nas to sober ne to glad. *Chaucer's Dream.*

<sup>3</sup> *The monarch of sublimest song.*] Homer. It appears from a passage in the Convito, that there was no Latin translation of Homer in Dante's time. "Sappia ciascuno, &c." p. 20. "Every one should know, that nothing, harmonized by musical enchainment, can be transmuted from one tongue into another without breaking all its sweetness and harmony. And this is the reason why Homer has never been turned from Greek into Latin, as the other writers we have of theirs." This sentence, I fear, may well be regarded as conclusive against the present undertaking. Yet would I will-

That o'er the others like an eagle soars.

When they together short discourse had held,  
They turn'd to me, with salutation kind  
Beckoning me; at the which my master smiled:  
Nor was this all; but greater honour still  
They gave me, for they made me of their tribe;  
And I was sixth amid so learn'd a band.

Far as the luminous beacon on we pass'd,  
Speaking of matters, then befitting well  
To speak, now fitter left untold<sup>1</sup>. At foot  
Of a magnificent castle we arrived,  
Seven times with lofty walls begirt, and round  
Defended by a pleasant stream. O'er this  
As o'er dry land we pass'd. Next, through seven gates,  
I with those sages enter'd, and we came  
Into a mead with lively verdure fresh.

There dwelt a race, who slow their eyes around  
Majestically moved, and in their port  
Bore eminent authority: they spake  
Seldom, but all their words were tuneful sweet.

We to one side retired, into a place  
Open and bright and lofty, whence each one  
Stood manifest to view. Incontinent,  
There on the green enamel<sup>2</sup> of the plain

ingly bespeak for it at least so much indulgence as Politian claimed for himself, when in the Latin translation, which he afterwards made of Homer, but which has since unfortunately perished, he ventured on certain liberties both of phraseology and metre, for which the nicer critics of his time thought fit to call him to an account: "Ego vero tametsi rudis in primis non adeo tamen obtusi sum pectoris in versibus maxime faciundis, ut spatia ista morasque non sentiam. Vero cum mihi de Græco pæne ad verbum forent antiquissima interpretanda carmina, fateor affectavi equidem ut in verbis obsoletam vetustatem, sic in mensurâ ipsâ et numero gratam quandam ut speravi novitatem." Ep. lib. i. Baptistæ Guarino.

<sup>1</sup> *Fitter left untold.*] Che'l tacere è bello.

So our Poet, in Canzone 14. La vide in parte che'l tacere è bello.

Ruccellai, *Ie Api*, 789: Ch' a dire è brutto ed a tacerlo è bello.

And Bembo: Vie più bello è il tacerle, che il favellarne. *Gli Asol.* lib. 1.

<sup>2</sup> *Green enamel.*] "Verde smalto." Dante here uses a metaphor that has since become very common in poetry.

O'er the smooth enamel'd green. *Milton, Arcades.*

"Enameling, and perhaps pictures in enamel, were common in the middle ages, &c." *Warton, Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, v. i. c. xiii. p. 376. "This art flourished most at Limoges, in France. So early as the year 1197, we have duas tabulas æneas superaauratas de labore Limogiæ. Chart. ann. 1197 apud Ughelin. tom. vii. Ital. Sac. p. 1274." *Warton. Ibid. Additions to v. i.*



Were shown me the great spirits, by whose sight  
I am exalted in my own esteem.

Electra<sup>1</sup> there I saw accompanied  
By many, among whom Hector I knew,  
Anchises' pious son, and with hawk's eye  
Cæsar all arm'd, and by Camilla there  
Penthesilea. On the other side,  
Old king Latinus seated by his child  
Lavinia, and that Brutus I beheld  
Who Tarquin chased, Lucretia, Cato's wife  
Marcia, with Julia<sup>2</sup> and Cornelia there;  
And sole apart retired, the Soldan fierce<sup>3</sup>.

Then when a little more I raised my brow,  
I spied the master of the sapient throng<sup>4</sup>,

printed in vol. ii. Compare Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting in England*, vol. i. c. ii. <sup>1</sup> *Electra*.] The daughter of Atlas, and mother of Dardanus the founder of Troy. See Virg. *Æn.* l. viii. 134. as referred to by Dante in the treatise "De Monarchiâ," lib. ii. "Electra, scilicet, nata magni nominis regis Atlantis, ut de ambobus testimonium reddit poeta noster in octavo, ubi Æneas ad Evandrum sic ait, 'Dardanus Iliacæ,' &c." <sup>2</sup> *Julia*.] The daughter of Julius Cæsar, and wife of Pompey. <sup>3</sup> *The Soldan fierce*.] Saladin, or Salaheddin, the rival of Richard Cœur de Lion. See D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orient.* the Life of Saladin, by Bohao'edin Ebn Shedad, published by Albert Schultens, with a Latin translation, and Knolles's *Hist. of the Turks*, p. 57 to 73. "About this time (1193) died the great Sultan Saladin, the greatest terror of the Christians, who, mindful of man's fragility and the vanity of worldly honours, commanded at the time of his death no solemnity to be used at his burial, but only his shirt, in manner of an ensign, made fast unto the point of a lance, to be carried before his dead body as an ensign, a plain priest going before, and crying aloud unto the people in this sort, 'Saladin, Conqueror of the East, of all the greatness and riches he had in his life, carrieth not with him any thing more than his shirt.' A sight worthy so great a king, as wanted nothing to his eternal commendation more than the true knowledge of his salvation in Christ Jesus. He reigned about sixteen years with great honour." He is introduced by Petrarch in the *Triumph of Fame*, c. ii.; and by Boccaccio in the *Decameron*, G. x. N. 9. <sup>4</sup> *The master of the sapient throng*.] Maestro di color che sanno. Aristotle. — Petrarch assigns the first place to Plato. See *Triumph of Fame*, c. iii.

Volsimi da man manca, e vidi Plato

Che 'n quella schiera andò piu presso al segno

A qual aggiunge, a chi dal cielo è dato.

Aristotile poi pien d'alto ingegno.

Pulci, in his *Morgante Maggiore*, c. xviii. says,

Tu se' il maestro di color che sanno.

The reverence in which the Stagirite was held by our author, cannot be better shown than by a passage in his *Convito*, p. 142: "Che Aristotile sia degnissimo, &c." "That Aristotle is most worthy of trust and obedience, may be thus proved. Amongst the workmen or artificers of different arts and operations, which are in order to some final art or operation, he, who is

Seated amid the philosophic train.  
 Him all admire, all pay him reverence due.  
 There Socrates and Plato both I mark'd  
 Nearest to him in rank, Democritus,  
 Who sets the world at chance<sup>1</sup>, Diogenes,  
 With Heraclitus, and Empedocles,  
 And Anaxagoras, and Thales sage,  
 Zeno, and Dioscorides well read  
 In nature's secret lore. Orpheus I mark'd  
 And Linus, Tully and moral Seneca,  
 Euclid and Ptolemy, Hippocrates,  
 Galenus, Avicen<sup>2</sup>, and him who made  
 That commentary vast, Averroes<sup>3</sup>.

the artist or operator in that, ought chiefly to be obeyed and trusted by the rest, as being the one who alone considers the ultimate end of all the other ends. Thus he, who exercises the occupation of a knight, ought to be obeyed by the sword-cutler, the bridle-maker, the armourer, and by all those trades which are in order to the occupation of a knight. And because all human operations respect a certain end, which is that of human life, to which man, inasmuch as he is man, is ordained, the master or artist, who considers of and teaches us that, ought chiefly to be obeyed and trusted: now this is no other than Aristotle; and he is therefore the most deserving of trust and obedience."

<sup>1</sup> ——— Democritus,

*Who sets the world at chance.]*

Democritus, who maintained the world to have been formed by the fortuitous concourse of atoms. <sup>2</sup> Avicen.] See D'Herbelot, Bibl. Orient. article Sina. He died in 1050. Pulci here again imitates our Poet:

Avicenna quel che il sentimento

Intese di Aristotile e i segreti,

Averrois che fece il gran comento. *Morg. Mag.* c. xxv.

Chaucer, in the Prologue to the Canterbury Tales, makes the Doctor of Phisike familiar with

——— Avicen,

Averrois.——

Sguarda Avicenna mio con tre corone,

Ch' egli fù Prence, e di scienza pieno,

E util tanto all' umane persone. *Frezzi. Il Quadrir.* l. iv. cap. 9.

Fuit Avicenna vir summi ingenii, magnus Philosophus, excellens medicus, et summus apud suos Theologus. Sebastian Scheffer, *Introd. in Artem Medicam*, p. 63, as quoted in the *Historical Observations on the Quadriregio*. Ediz. 1725.

<sup>3</sup> ——— Him who made

*That commentary vast, Averroes.]*

Il gran Platone, e l' altro che sta attento

Mirando il cielo, e sta a lui a lato

Averrois, che fece il gran comento.

*Frezzi. Il Quadrir.* l. iv. cap. 9.

Averroes, called by the Arabians Roschd, translated and commented the works of Aristotle. According to Tiraboschi (*Storia della Lett. Ital.* t. v. l. ii.

Of all to speak at full were vain attempt ;  
 For my wide theme so urges, that oft-times  
 My words fall short of what bechanced. In two  
 The six associates part. Another way  
 My sage guide leads me, from that air serene,  
 Into a climate ever vex'd with storms :  
 And to a part I come, where no light shines.

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CANTO V.

—

ARGUMENT.

Coming into the second circle of Hell, Dante at the entrance beholds Minos the Infernal Judge, by whom he is admonished to beware how he enters those regions. Here he witnesses the punishment of carnal sinners, who are tost about ceaselessly in the dark air by the most furious winds. Amongst these, he meets with Francesca of Rimini, through pity at whose sad tale he falls fainting to the ground.

FROM the first circle¹ I descended thus
 Down to the second, which, a lesser space
 Embracing, so much more of grief contains,
 Provoking bitter moans. There Minos stands,

c. ii. sect. 4.) he was the source of modern philosophical impiety. The critic quotes some passages from Petrarch (Senil. l. v. ep. iii. et Oper. v. ii. p. 1143) to show how strongly such sentiments prevailed in the time of that poet, by whom they were held in horror and detestation. He adds, that this fanatic admirer of Aristotle translated his writings with that felicity, which might be expected from one who did not know a syllable of Greek, and who was therefore compelled to avail himself of the unfaithful Arabic versions. D'Herbelot, on the other hand, informs us, that "Averroes was the first who translated Aristotle from Greek into Arabic, before the Jews had made their translation ; and that we had for a long time no other text of Aristotle, except that of the Latin translation, which was made from this Arabic version of this great philosopher (Averroes), who afterwards added to it a very ample commentary, of which Thomas Aquinas, and the other scholastic writers, availed themselves, before the Greek originals of Aristotle and his commentators were known to us in Europe." According to D'Herbelot, he died in 1198 ; but Tiraboschi places that event about 1206. "Averroes," says Warton, "as the Asiatic schools decayed by the indolence of the Caliphs, was one of those philosophers who adorned the Moorish schools erected in Africa and Spain. He was a professor in the University of Morocco. He wrote a commentary on all Aristotle's works. He was styled the most Peripatetic of all the Arabian writers. He was born at Cordova, of an ancient Arabic family." *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, vol. i. sect. xvii. p. 441. ¹ *From the first circle.*] Chiabre-ra's twenty-first sonnet is on a painting, by Cesare Corte, from this Canto. Mr. Fuseli, a much greater name, has lately employed his wonder-working pencil on the same subject.

Grinning with ghastly feature¹: he, of all
 Who enter, strict examining the crimes,
 Gives sentence, and dismisses them beneath,
 According as he foldeth him around :
 For when before him comes the ill-fated soul,
 It all confesses ; and that judge severe
 Of sins, considering what place in hell
 Suits the transgression, with his tail so oft
 Himself encircles, as degrees beneath
 He dooms it to descend. Before him stand
 Always a numerous throng ; and in his turn
 Each one to judgment passing, speaks, and hears
 His fate, thence downward to his dwelling hurl'd.

“ O thou ! who to this residence of woe
 Approachest !” when he saw me coming, cried
 Minos, relinquishing his dread employ,
 “ Look how thou enter here ; beware in whom
 Thou place thy trust ; let not the entrance broad
 Deceive thee to thy harm.” To him my guide :
 “ Wherefore exclaimest ? Hinder not his way
 By destiny appointed ; so 'tis will'd,
 Where will and power are one. Ask thou no more.”

Now 'gin the rueful wailings to be heard.
 Now am I come where many a plaining voice
 Smites on mine ear. Into a place I came
 Where light was silent all. Bellowing there groan'd
 A noise, as of a sea in tempest torn
 By warring winds. The stormy blast of hell
 With restless fury drives the spirits on,
 Whirl'd round and dash'd amain with sore annoy.
 When they arrive before the ruinous sweep,
 There shrieks are heard, there lamentations, moans,
 And blasphemies 'gainst the good Power in heaven.

I understood, that to this torment sad
 The carnal sinners are condemn'd, in whom
 Reason by lust is sway'd. As in large troops
 And multitudinous, when winter reigns,
 The starlings on their wings are borne abroad ;

¹ *Grinning with ghastly feature.*] Hence Milton
 ——— Death

Grinn'd horrible a ghastly smile. *P. L.* b. ii. 845.

So bears the tyrannous gust those evil souls.
 On this side and on that, above, below,
 It drives them: hope of rest to solace them
 Is none, nor e'en of milder pang. As cranes¹,
 Chanting their dolorous notes, traverse the sky,
 Stretch'd out in long array; so I beheld
 Spirits, who came loud wailing, hurried on
 By their dire doom. Then I: "Instructor! who
 Are these, by the black air so scourged?"—"The first
 'Mong those, of whom thou question'st," he replied,
 "O'er many tongues was empress. She in vice
 Of luxury was so shameless, that she made
 Liking² be lawful by promulged decree,
 To clear the blame she had herself incurr'd.
 This is Semiramis, of whom 'tis writ,
 That she succeeded Ninus her espoused³;
 And held the land, which now the Soldan rules.
 The next in amorous fury slew herself,
 And to Sicheus' ashes broke her faith:
 Then follows Cleopatra, lustful queen."

¹ *As cranes.*] This simile is imitated by Lorenzo de' Medici, in his *Amara*, a poem, first published by Mr. Roscoe, in the Appendix to his *Life of Lorenzo*:

Marking the tracts of air, the clamorous cranes
 Wheel their due flight in varied ranks descried;
 And each with outstretch'd neck his rank maintains,
 In marshal'd order through the ethereal void.

Roscoe, v. i. c. v. p. 257, 4to edit.

Compare Homer *Il.* iii. 3. Virgil, *Æn.* l. x. 264. Oppian *Halieut.* lib. i. 320. Ruccellai, *Le Api*, 942. and Dante's *Purgatory*, xxiv. 63.

² *Liking.*] His luses were as law in his degree.

Chaucer, Monke's Tale. Nero.

³ *That she succeeded Ninus her espoused.*]

Che succedette a Nino e fu sua sposa.

M. Artaud, in his *Histoire de Dante*, p. 589, mentions a manuscript work called Attacanti's *Quadragesimale de reditu peccatoris ad Deum*, in which the line is thus cited:

Che sugger dette a Nino e fu sua sposa.

"Who suckled Ninus, and was his wife."

This remarkable reading had been before noticed by Federici. *Intorno ad alcune varianti nel testo della Divina Commedia.* Ed. Milan. 1836. See the *Biblioteca Italiana*. Tom. 82. p. 282. It appears from the treatise *De Monarchiâ* (l. ii.) that Dante derived his knowledge of Assyrian history from his favourite author Orosius, (l. i. c. iv.) who relates that Semiramis both succeeded Ninus through the artifice of personating her son, and that she committed incest with her son; but as the name of her husband Ninus only is there recorded, and as other historians call the son Ninias, it is probable that the common reading is right.

There mark'd I Helen, for whose sake so long
 The time was fraught with evil ; there the great
 Achilles, who with love fought to the end.
 Paris I saw, and Tristan ; and beside,
 A thousand more he show'd me, and by name
 Pointed them out, whom love bereaved of life.

When I had heard my sage instructor name
 Those dames and knights of antique days, o'erpower'd
 By pity, well-nigh in amaze my mind
 Was lost ; and I began : " Bard ! willingly
 I would address those two together coming,
 Which seem so light before the wind." He thus :
 " Note thou, when nearer they to us approach.
 Then by that love which carries them along,
 Entreat ; and they will come." Soon as the wind
 Sway'd them toward us, I thus framed my speech :
 " O wearied spirits ! come, and hold discourse
 With us, if by none else restrain'd." As doves
 By fond desire invited, on wide wings
 And firm, to their sweet nest returning home,
 Cleave the air, wafted by their will along ;
 Thus issued, from that troop where Dido ranks,
 They, through the ill air speeding : with such force
 My cry prevail'd, by strong affection urged.

" O gracious creature and benign ! who go'st
 Visiting, through this element obscure¹,
 Us, who the world with bloody stain imbrued ;
 If, for a friend, the King of all, we own'd,
 Our prayer to him should for thy peace arise,
 Since thou hast pity on our evil plight.
 Of whatsoe'er to hear or to discourse
 It pleases thee, that will we hear, of that
 Freely with thee discourse, while e'er the wind,
 As now, is mute. The land², that gave me birth,

¹ *Element obscure.*] "L'aer perso." Much is said by the commentators concerning the exact sense of the word "perso." It cannot be explained in clearer terms than those used by Dante himself in his *Convito*: "Il perso è un colore misto di purpureo e nero, ma vince il nero." p. 185. "It is a colour mixed of purple and black, but the black prevails." The word recurs several times in this poem. Chaucer also uses it, in the Prologue to the *Canterbury Tales*, Doctour of Phisike :

In sanguin and in perse he clad was alle.

² *The land.*] Ravenna.

Is situate on the coast, where Po descends
To rest in ocean with his sequent streams.

“Love, that in gentle heart is quickly learnt¹,
Entangled him by that fair form, from me
Ta'en in such cruel sort, as grieves me still :
Love, that denial takes from none beloved²,
Caught me with pleasing him so passing well,
That, as thou seest, he yet deserts me not.
Love brought us to one death : Caïna³ waits
The soul, who spilt our life.” Such were their words ;
At hearing which, downward I bent my looks,
And held them there so long, that the bard cried :
“What art thou pondering ?” I in answer thus :
“Alas ! by what sweet thoughts, what fond desire
Must they at length to that ill pass have reach'd !”

Then turning, I to them my speech address'd,
And thus began : “Francesca⁴ ! your sad fate

¹ *Love, that in gentle heart is quickly learnt.*]

Amor, ch'al cor gentil ratto s'apprende.

A line taken by Marino, *Adone*, c. cxli. st. 251.

That the reader of the original may not be misled as to the exact sense of the word “s'apprende,” which I have rendered “is learnt,” it may be right to apprise him that it signifies “is caught,” and that it is a metaphor from a thing taking fire. Thus it is used by Guido Guinicelli, whom indeed our Poet seems here to have had in view :

Fuoco d'Amore in gentil cor s'apprende,

Come vertute in pietra preziosa.

Sonetti, &c., di diversi Antichi Toscani. Ediz. Giunti, 1527. l. ix. p. 107

The fire of love in gentle heart is caught,

As virtue in the precious stone.

² *Love, that denial takes from none beloved.*]

Amor, ch' a null' amato amar perdona.

So Boccaccio, in his *Filocolo*, l. 1.

Amore mai non perdonò l'amore a nullo amato.

And Pulci, in the *Morgante Maggiore*, c. iv.

E perchè amor mal volontier perdona,

Che non sia al fin sempre amato chi ama.

Indeed many of the Italian poets have repeated this verse. ³ *Caïna.*]

The place to which murderers are doomed. ⁴ *Francesca.*]

Francesca, daughter of Guido da Polenta, lord of Ravenna, was given by her father in marriage to Lanciotto, son of Malatesta, lord of Rimini, a man of extraordinary courage, but deformed in his person. His brother Paolo, who unhappily possessed those graces which the husband of Francesca wanted, engaged her affections ; and being taken in adultery, they were both put to death by the enraged Lanciotto. See Notes to Canto xxvii. v. 38 and 43. Troya relates, that they were buried together ; and that three centuries after, the bodies were found at Rimini, whither they had been removed from Pesaro, with the silken garments yet fresh. *Veltro Allegorico di Dante*,

Even to tears my grief and pity moves.
 But tell me; in the time of your sweet sighs,
 By what, and how Love granted, that ye knew
 Your yet uncertain wishes?" She replied:
 "No greater grief than to remember days
 Of joy, when misery is at hand¹. That kens
 Thy learn'd instructor. Yet so eagerly
 If thou art bent to know the primal root,
 From whence our love gat being, I will do
 As one, who weeps and tells his tale. One day,
 For our delight we read of Lancelot²,
 How him love thrall'd. Alone we were, and no
 Suspicion near us. Oft-times by that reading
 Our eyes were drawn together, and the hue
 Fled from our alter'd cheek. But at one point³
 Alone we fell. When of that smile we read,
 The wished smile so rapturously kiss'd

Ediz. 1826. p. 33. The whole of this passage is alluded to by Petrarch, in his *Triumph of Love*, c. iii.:

Ecco quei che le carte empion di sogni
 Lancilotto Tristano e gli altri erranti:
 Onde convien che 'l vulgo errante agogni;
 Vedi Ginevra, Isotta e l'altre amanti;
 E la coppia d'Arimino che 'nsieme
 Vanno facendo dolorosi pianti.

Mr. Leigh Hunt has expanded the present episode into a beautiful poem, in his "Story of Rimini."

¹ *No greater grief than to remember days
 Of joy, when misery is at hand.]*

Imitated by Chaucer:

For of Fortunis sharp adversite	A man to have been in prosperite,
The worste kind of infortune is this,	And it remembir when it passid is.
	<i>Troilus and Creseide</i> , b. iii.

By Marino:

Che non ha doglia il misero maggiore,
 Che ricordar la gioia entro il dolore. *Adone*, c. xiv. st. 100.

And by Fortiguerra:

—Rimembrare il ben perduto

Fa più meschino lo presente stato. *Ricciardetto*, c. xi. st. 83.

The original, perhaps, was in Boëtius de Consol. Philosoph. "In omni adversitate fortunæ infelicissimum genus est infortunii fuisse felicem et non esse." l. 2. pr. 4. Boëtius, and Cicero de Amicitia, were the two first books that engaged the attention of Dante, as he himself tells us in the *Convito*, p. 68. ² *Lancelot*.] One of the Knights of the Round Table, and the lover of Ginevra, or Guinever, celebrated in romance. The incident alluded to seems to have made a strong impression on the imagination of Dante, who introduces it again, in the *Paradise*, Canto xvi.

³ *At one point*.] Questo quel punto fù, che sol mi vinse.

Tasso, Il Torrismondo a. i. s. 3.

By one so deep in love, then he, who ne'er
 From me shall separate, at once my lips
 All trembling kiss'd. The book and writer both
 Were love's purveyors. In its leaves that day
 We read no more¹." While thus one spirit spake.
 The other wail'd so sorely, that heart-struck
 I, through compassion fainting, seem'd not far
 From death, and like a corpse fell to the ground².

CANTO VI.

ARGUMENT.

On his recovery, the Poet finds himself in the third circle, where the gluttonous are punished. Their torment is, to lie in the mire, under a continual and heavy storm of hail, snow, and discoloured water; Cerberus meanwhile barking over them with his threefold throat, and rending them piecemeal. One of these, who on earth was named Ciaccio, foretells the divisions with which Florence is about to be distracted. Dante proposes a question to his guide, who solves it; and they proceed towards the fourth circle.

My sense reviving³, that erewhile had droop'd
 With pity for the kindred shades, whence grief
 O'ercame me wholly, straight around I see
 New torments, new tormented souls, which way
 Soe'er I move, or turn, or bend my sight.
 In the third circle I arrive, of showers
 Ceaseless, accursed, heavy and cold, unchanged
 For ever, both in kind and in degree.
 Large hail, discolour'd water, sleety flaw
 Through the dun midnight air stream'd down amain:
 Stank all the land whereon that tempest fell.

¹ ——— *In its leaves that day*

We read no more.] Nothing can exceed the delicacy with which Francesca in these words intimates her guilt.

² *And like a corpse fell to the ground.*]

E caddi, come corpo morto cade.

So Pulci: E cadde come morto in terra cade. *Morgante Maggiore*, c. xxii.

And Ariosto: E cada, come corpo morto cade. *Orl. Fur.* c. ii. st. 55.

"And when I saw him, I fell at his feet as dead." *Revelation*, i. 17.

³ *My sense reviving.*] Al tornar della mente, che si chiuse,

Dinanzi alla pietà de' duo cognati.

Berni has made a sportive application of these lines, in his *Orl. Ina*. lib. iii. a. viii. st. 1.

Cerberus, cruel monster, fierce and strange,
 Through his wide threefold throat, barks as a dog
 Over the multitude immersed beneath.
 His eyes glare crimson, black his unctuous beard,
 His belly large, and claw'd the hands, with which
 He tears the spirits, flays them, and their limbs
 Piecemeal disparts. Howling there spread, as curs,
 Under the rainy deluge, with one side
 The other screening, oft they roll them round,
 A wretched, godless crew. When that great worm¹
 Descried us, savage Cerberus, he oped
 His jaws, and the fangs show'd us; not a limb
 Of him but trembled. Then my guide, his palms
 Expanding on the ground, thence fill'd with earth
 Raised them, and cast it in his ravenous maw.
 E'en as a dog, that yelling bays for food
 His keeper, when the morsel comes, lets fall
 His fury, bent alone with eager haste
 To swallow it; so dropp'd the loathsome cheeks
 Of demon Cerberus, who thundering stuns
 The spirits, that they for deafness wish in vain.

We, o'er the shades thrown prostrate by the brunt
 Of the heavy tempest passing, set our feet
 Upon their emptiness, that substance seem'd.

They all along the earth extended lay,
 Save one, that sudden raised himself to sit,
 Soon as that way he saw us pass. "O thou!"
 He cried, "who through the infernal shades art led,
 Own, if again thou know'st me. Thou wast framed
 Or ere my frame was broken." I replied:
 "The anguish thou endurest perchance so takes
 Thy form from my remembrance, that it seems

¹ *That great worm.*] Juxta—infernum vermis erat infinitæ magnitudinis ligatus maximâ catenâ. Alberici Visio, § 9.

In Canto xxxiv. Lucifer is called

The abhorred worm, that boreth through the world.

This is imitated by Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* c. xlv. st. 76. Shakspeare, Milton, and Cowper, who well understood that the most common words are often the most impressive, have used the synonymous term in our language with the best effect; as Pindar has done in Greek:

Ἀπὸ Ταῦγέτου μὲν Λάκαιναν
 ἐπὶ Σηρσὶ κύνα τρέχειν πεκινώτατον ἑοπετόν.

Heyne's *Pindar. Fragm. Epinic.* ii. 2. In Hieron.

As if I saw thee never. But inform
 Me who thou art, that in a place so sad
 Art set, and in such torment, that although
 Other be greater, none disgusteth more.”
 He thus in answer to my words rejoind’d :
 “Thy city, heap’d with envy to the brim,
 Aye, that the measure overflows its bounds,
 Held me in brighter days. Ye citizens
 Were wont to name me Ciacco¹. For the sin
 Of gluttony, damned vice, beneath this rain,
 E’en as thou seest, I with fatigue am worn :
 Nor I sole spirit in this woe : all these
 Have by like crime incurr’d like punishment.”

No more he said, and I my speech resumed :
 “Ciacco ! thy dire affliction grieves me much,
 Even to tears. But tell me, if thou know’st,
 What shall at length befall the citizens
 Of the divided city² ; whether any
 Just one in habit there : and tell the cause,
 Whence jarring Discord hath assail’d it thus.”

He then : “After long striving they will come
 To blood ; and the wild party from the woods³
 Will chase the other⁴ with much injury forth.
 Then it behoves that this must fall⁵, within
 Three solar circles⁶ ; and the other rise
 By borrow’d force of one, who under shore
 Now rests⁷. It shall a long space hold aloof
 Its forehead, keeping under heavy weight
 The other opprest, indignant at the load,
 And grieving sore. The just are two in number⁸,

¹ *Ciacco.*] So called from his inordinate appetite ; Ciacco, in Italian, signifying a pig. The real name of this glutton has not been transmitted to us. He is introduced in Boccaccio’s *Decameron*, Giorn. ix. Nov. 8.

² *The divided city.*] The city of Florence, divided into the Bianchi and Neri factions. ³ *The wild party from the woods.*] So called, because it was headed by Veri de’ Cerchi, whose family had lately come into the city from Acone, and the woody country of the Val di Nievole. ⁴ *The other.*] The opposite party of the Neri, at the head of which was Corso Donati.

⁵ *This must fall.*] The Bianchi. ⁶ *Three solar circles.*] Three years.

⁷ ——— *Of one, who under shore
 Now rests.*]

Charles of Valois, by whose means the Neri were replaced.

⁸ *The just are two in number.*] Who these two were, the commentators are not agreed. Some understand them to be Dante himself and his friend

But they neglected. Avarice, envy, pride¹,
 Three fatal sparks, have set the hearts of all
 On fire." Here ceased the lamentable sound ;
 And I continued thus : " Still would I learn
 More from thee, further parley still entreat.
 Of Farinata and Tegghiaio² say,
 They who so well deserved ; of Giacopo³,
 Arrigo, Mosca⁴, and the rest, who bent
 Their minds on working good. Oh ! tell me where
 They bide, and to their knowledge let me come.
 For I am prest with keen desire to hear
 If heaven's sweet cup, or poisonous drug of hell,
 Be to their lip assign'd." He answer'd straight :
 " These are yet blacker spirits. Various crimes
 Have sunk them deeper in the dark abyss.
 If thou so far descendest, thou mayst see them.
 But to the pleasant world, when thou return'st,
 Of me make mention, I entreat thee, there.
 No more I tell thee, answer thee no more."

This said, his fixed eyes he turn'd askance,
 A little eyed me, then bent down his head,
 And 'midst his blind companions with it fell.

When thus my guide : " No more his bed he leaves,
 Ere the last angel-trumpet blow. The Power

Guido Cavalcanti. But this would argue a presumption, which our Poet himself elsewhere contradicts ; for, in the Purgatory, he owns his consciousness of not being exempted from one at least of " the three fatal sparks, which had set the hearts of all on fire." See Canto xiii. 126. Others refer the encomium to Barduccio and Giovanni Vespignano, adducing the following passage from Villani in support of their opinion : " In the year 1331 died in Florence two just and good men, of holy life and conversation, and bountiful in almsgiving, although laymen. The one was named Barduccio, and was buried in S Spirito, in the place of the Frati Romitani : the other, named Giovanni da Vespignano, was buried in S. Pietro Maggiore. And by each, God showed open miracles, in healing the sick and lunatic after divers manners ; and for each there was ordained a solemn funeral, and many images of wax set up in discharge of vows that had been made. G. Villani, lib. x. cap. clxxix.

¹ *Avarice, envy, pride.*] Invidia, superbia ed avarizia

Vedea multiplicar tra miei figliuoli.

Fazio degli Uberti, Dittamondo, lib. i. cap. xxix

² *Of Farinata and Tegghiaio.*] See Canto x. and Notes, and Canto xvi. and Notes. ³ *Giacopo.*] Giacopo Rusticucci. See Canto xvi. and Notes.

⁴ *Arrigo, Mosca.*] Of Arrigo, who is said by the commentators to have been of the noble family of the Fifanti, no mention afterwards occurs Mosca degli Uberti, or de' Lamberti, is introduced in Canto xxviii.

Adverse to these shall then in glory come,
 Each one forthwith to his sad tomb repair,
 Resume¹ his fleshly vesture and his form,
 And hear the eternal doom re-echoing rend
 The vault." So pass'd we through that mixture foul
 Of spirits and rain, with tardy steps; meanwhile
 Touching², though slightly, on the life to come.
 For thus I question'd: "Shall these tortures, Sir!
 When the great sentence passes, be increased,
 Or mitigated, or as now severe?"

He then: "Consult thy knowledge³; that decides,
 That, as each thing to more perfection grows,
 It feels more sensibly both good and pain.
 Though ne'er to true perfection may arrive
 This race accurst, yet nearer then, than now,
 They shall approach it." Compassing that path,
 Circuitous we journey'd; and discourse,
 Much more than I relate, between us pass'd:
 Till at the point, whence the steps led below,
 Arrived, there Plutus, the great foe, we found.

CANTO VII.

ARGUMENT.

In the present Canto, Dante describes his descent into the fourth circle, & the beginning of which he sees Plutus stationed. Here one like doon awaits the prodigal and the avaricious; which is, to meet in direful conflict, rolling great weights against each other with mutual upbraidings. From hence Virgil takes occasion to show how vain the goods that are committed into the charge of Fortune; and this moves our author to inquire what being that Fortune is, of whom he speaks: which question being resolved, they go down into the fifth circle, where they find the

Resume.] Imitated by Frezzi:—

Allor ripiglieran la carne e l'ossa;

Li rei oscuri, e i buon con splendori

Per la virtù della divina possa. *Il Quadr. lib. iv. cap. xv.*

² *Touching.*] Conversing, though in a slight and superficial manner, on the life to come. ³ *Consult thy knowledge.*] We are referred to the following passage in St. Augustin:—"Cum fiet resurrectio carnis, et bonorum gaudia et malorum tormenta majora erunt."—"At the resurrection of the flesh, both the happiness of the good and the torments of the wicked will be increased."

wrathful and gloomy tormented in the Stygian lake. Having made a compass round great part of this lake, they come at last to the base of a lofty tower.

"AH me! O Satan! Satan¹!" loud exclaim'd
 Plutus, in accent hoarse of wild alarm:
 And the kind sage, whom no event surprised,
 To comfort me thus spake: "Let not thy fear
 Harm thee, for power in him, be sure, is none
 To hinder down this rock thy safe descent."
 Then to that swoln lip turning, "Peace!" he cried,
 "Curst wolf! thy fury inward on thyself
 Prey, and consume thee! Through the dark profound,
 Not without cause, he passes. So 'tis will'd
 On high, there where the great Archangel pour'd
 Heaven's vengeance on the first adulterer proud²."
 As sails, full spread and bellying with the wind,
 Drop suddenly collapsed, if the mast split;
 So to the ground down dropp'd the cruel fiend.
 Thus we, descending to the fourth steep ledge,
 Gain'd on the dismal shore, that all the woe
 Hems in of all the universe. Ah me!
 Almighty Justice! in what store thou heap'st³
 New pains, new troubles, as I here beheld.

¹ *Ah me! O Satan! Satan!*] Pape Satan, Pape Satan, aleppe.

Pape is said by the commentators to be the same as the Latin word *papæ*. "strange!" Of *aleppe* they do not give a more satisfactory account. See the *Life of Benvenuto Cellini*, translated by Dr. Nugent, v. ii. b. iii. c. vii. p. 113, where he mentions "having heard the words *Paix, paix, Satan! allez, paix!* in the courts of justice at Paris. I recollected what Dante said, when he with his master Virgil entered the gates of hell: for Dante, and Giotto the painter, were together in France, and visited Paris with particular attention, where the court of justice may be considered as hell. Hence it is that Dante, who was likewise perfect master of the French, made use of that expression; and I have often been surprised that it was never understood in that sense." ² *The first adulterer proud.*] Satan. The word "fornication," or "adultery," "strupo," is here used for a revolt of the affections from God, according to the sense in which it is often applied in Scripture. But Monti, following Grassi's "Essay on Synonymes," supposes "strupo" to mean "troop"; the word "strup" being still used in the Piemontese dialect for "a flock of sheep," and answering to "troupeau" in French. In that case, "superbo strupo" would signify "the troop of rebel angels who sinned through pride." ³ *In what store thou heap'st.*] Some understand "chi stipa" to mean either "who can imagine," or "who can describe the torments," &c. I have followed Landino, whose words, though very plain, seem to have been mistaken by Lombardi: "Chi stipa, chi accumula, ed insieme raccoglie; quasi dica, tu giustizia aduni tanti supplicii."

Wherefore doth fault of ours bring us to this ?

E'en as a billow ¹, on Charybdis rising,
Against encounter'd billow dashing breaks ;
Such is the dance this wretched race must lead,
Whom more than elsewhere numerous here I found.
From one side and the other, with loud voice,
Both roll'd on weights, by main force of their breasts,
Then smote together, and each one forthwith
Roll'd them back voluble, turning again ;
Exclaiming these, " Why holdest thou so fast ?"
Those answering, " And why castest thou away ?"
So, still repeating their spiteful song,
They to the opposite point, on either hand,
Traversed the horrid circle ; then arrived,
Both turn'd them round, and through the middle space
Conflicting met again. At sight whereof
I, stung with grief, thus spake : " O say, my guide !
What race is this. Were these, whose heads are shorn,
On our left hand, all separate to the church ?"

He straight replied : " In their first life, these all
In mind were so distorted, that they made,
According to due measure, of their wealth
No use. This clearly from their words collect,
Which they howl forth, at each extremity
Arriving of the circle, where their crime
Contrary in kind disparts them. To the church
Were separate those, that with no hairy cowls
Are crown'd, both Popes and Cardinals ², o'er whom
Avarice dominion absolute maintains."

I then : "'Mid such as these some needs must be,

¹ *E'en as a billow.*]

As when two billows in the Irish sowndes,
Forceibly driven with contrarie tides,
Do meet together, each aback rebounds
With roaring rage, and dashing on all sides,
That filleth all the sea with foam, divides
The doubtful current into divers wayes.

Spenser, F. Q. b. iv. c. i. st. 42.

² *Popes and Cardinals.*] Ariosto having personified Avarice as a strange
and hideous monster, says of her—

Peggio faccia nella Romana corte,
Che v'avea uccisi Cardinali e Papi. *Orl. Fur.* c. xxvi. st. 32
Worse did she in the Court of Rome, for there
She had slain Popes and Cardinals.

Whom I shall recognise, that with the blot
Of these foul sins were stain'd." He answering thus :
"Vain thought conceivest thou. That ignoble life,
Which made them vile before, now makes them dark,
And to all knowledge indiscernible.

For ever they shall meet in this rude shock :
These from the tomb with clenched grasp shall rise,
Those with close-shaven locks. That ill they gave,
And ill they kept, hath of the beauteous world
Deprived, and set them at this strife, which needs
No labour'd phrase of mine to set it off.

Now mayst thou see, my son ! how brief, how vain,
The goods committed into Fortune's hands,
For which the human race keep such a coil !

Not all the gold¹ that is beneath the moon,
Or ever hath been, of these toil-worn souls
Might purchase rest for one." I thus rejoind :

"My guide ! of thee this also would I learn ;
This Fortune, that thou speak'st of, what it is,
Whose talons grasp the blessings of the world."

He thus : "O beings blind ! what ignorance
Besets you ! Now my judgment hear and mark.
He, whose transcendent wisdom² passes all,
The heavens creating, gave them ruling powers
To guide them ; so that each part³ shines to each,
Their light in equal distribution pour'd.
By similar appointment he ordain'd,
Over the world's bright images to rule,
Superintendence of a guiding hand
And general minister⁴, which, at due time,
May change the empty vantages of life

¹ *Not all the gold.*] Tutto l'oro ch' è sotto la luna.

For all the gode under the colde mone.

Chaucer, Legende of Hypermnestra.

² *He, whose transcendent wisdom.*] Compare Frezzi :

— Dio è primo prince in ogni parte

Sempre e di tutto, &c. *Il Quadrir.* lib. ii. cap. ii.

³ *Each part.* Each hemisphere of the heavens shines upon that hemisphere of the earth which is placed under it. ⁴ *General minister.*] Lombardi cites an apposite passage from Augustin, *De Civitate Dei*, lib. v. :—
"Nos eas causas, quæ dicuntur fortuitæ (unde etiam fortuna nomen accepit) non dicimus nullas, sed latentes, easque tribuimus, vel veri Dei, vel quorumlibet spirituum voluntati."

From race to race, from one to other's blood,
 Beyond prevention of man's wisest care :
 Wherefore one nation rises into sway,
 Another languishes, e'en as her will
 Decrees, from us conceal'd, as in the grass
 The serpent train. Against her nought avails
 Your utmost wisdom. She with foresight plans,
 Judges, and carries on her reign, as theirs
 The other powers divine. Her changes know
 None intermission : by necessity¹
 She is made swift, so frequent come who claim
 Succession in her favours. This is she,
 So execrated e'en by those whose debt
 To her is rather praise : they wrongfully
 With blame requite her, and with evil word ;
 But she is blessed, and for that reckes not :
 Amidst the other primal beings glad,
 Rolls on her sphere, and in her bliss exults.
 Now on our way pass we, to heavier woe
 Descending : for each star² is falling now,
 That mounted at our entrance, and forbids
 'Too long our tarrying." We the circle cross'd
 To the next steep, arriving at a well,
 That boiling pours itself down to a foss
 Sluiced from its source. Far murkier was the wave
 Than sablest grain : and we in company
 Of the inky waters, journeying by their side,
 Enter'd, though by a different track³, beneath.

¹ *By necessity.*] This sentiment called forth the reprehension of Francesco Stabili, commonly called Cecco d' Ascoli, in his *Acerba*, lib. i. c. i.

In ciò peccasti, O Fiorentin poeta,
 Ponendo che li ben della fortuna
 Necessitati sieno con lor meta.
 Non è fortuna, cui ragion non vinca.
 Or pensa Dante, se prova nessuna
 Si può più fare che questa convinca.
 Herein, O bard of Florence, didst thou err,
 Laying it down that fortune's largesses
 Are fated to their goal. Fortune is none,
 That reason cannot conquer. Mark thou, Dante,
 If any argument may gainsay this.

² *Each star.*] So Boccaccio: "Giù ogni stella a cader cominciò, che salia." Dec. G. 3. at the end. ³ *A different track.*] Una via diversa. Some understand this "a strange path"; as the word is used in the preceding Canto; "fiera crudele e diversa," "monster fierce and strange"; and

Into a lake, the Stygian named, expands
 The dismal stream, when it hath reach'd the foot
 Of the grey wither'd cliffs. Intent I stood
 To gaze, and in the marish sunk descried
 A miry tribe, all naked, and with looks
 Betokening rage. They with their hands alone
 Struck not, but with the head, the breast, the feet,
 Cutting each other piecemeal with their fangs.

The good instructor spake: "Now seest thou, son!
 The souls of those, whom anger overcame.
 This too for certain know, that underneath
 The water dwells a multitude, whose sighs
 Into these bubbles make the surface heave,
 As thine eye tells thee wheresoe'er it turn.
 Fix'd in the slime, they say: 'Sad once were we,
 'In the sweet air made gladsome by the sun,
 'Carrying a foul and lazy mist within:
 'Now in these murky settlings are we sad.'
 Such dolorous strain they gurgle in their throats,
 But word distinct can utter none." Our route
 Thus compass'd we, a segment widely stretch'd
 Between the dry embankment, and the core
 Of the loath'd pool, turning meanwhile our eyes
 Downward on those who gulp'd its muddy lees;
 Nor stopp'd, till to a tower's low base we came.

CANTO VIII.

ARGUMENT.

A signal having been made from the tower, Phlegyas, the ferryman of the lake, speedily crosses it, and conveys Virgil and Dante to the other side. On their passage, they meet with Filippo Argenti, whose fury and torment are described. They then arrive at the city of Dis, the entrance where to is denied, and the portals closed against them by many Demons.

My theme pursuing¹, I relate, that ere
 We reach'd the lofty turret's base, our eyes

in the *Vita Nuova*, "visi diversi ed orribili a vedere," "visages strange and horrible to see."

¹ *My theme pursuing.*] It is related by some of the early commentators, that the seven preceding Cantos were found at Florence after our Poet's banishment, by some one, who was searching over his papers, which were

Its height ascended, where we mark'd uphung
 Two cressets, and another saw from far
 Return the signal, so remote, that scarce
 The eye could catch its beam. I, turning round
 To the deep source of knowledge, thus inquired:
 "Say what this means; and what, that other light
 In answer set: what agency doth this?"

"There on the filthy waters," he replied,
 "E'en now what next awaits us mayst thou see,
 If the marsh-gendered fog conceal it not."

Never was arrow from the cord dismiss'd,
 That ran its way so nimbly through the air,
 As a small bark, that through the waves I spied
 Toward us coming, under the sole sway
 Of one that ferried it, who cried aloud:

"Art thou arrived, fell spirit?"—"Phlegyas, Phlegyas"
 This time thou criest in vain," my lord replied;
 "No longer shalt thou have us, but while o'er
 The slimy pool we pass." As one who hears
 Of some great wrong he hath sustain'd, whereat
 Inly he pines: so Phlegyas inly pined
 In his fierce ire. My guide, descending, stepp'd
 Into the skiff, and bade me enter next,
 Close at his side; nor, till my entrance, seem'd
 The vessel freighted. Soon as both embark'd,
 Cutting the waves, goes on the ancient prow,
 More deeply than with others it is wont.

While we our course² o'er the dead channel held,

left in that city; that by this person they were taken to Dino Frescobaldi; and that he, being much delighted with them, forwarded them to the Marchese Morello Malaspina, at whose entreaty the poem was resumed. This account, though very circumstantially related, is rendered improbable by the prophecy of Ciacco in the sixth Canto, which must have been written after the events to which it alludes. The manner, in which the present Canto opens, furnishes no proof of the truth of the report; for, as Maffei remarks in his Osservazioni Letterarie, tom. ii. p. 249, referred to by Lombardi, it might as well be affirmed that Ariosto was interrupted in his Orlando Furioso, because he begins c. xvi.

Dico la bella storia ripigliando.

And c. xxii. Ma tornando al lavor, che vario ordisco.

¹ *Phlegyas.*] Phlegyas, who was so incensed against Apollo, for having violated his daughter Coronis, that he set fire to the temple of that deity, by whose vengeance he was cast into Tartarus. See Virg. *Æn.* l. vi. 618.

² *While we our course.*] Solcando noi per quella morta gora.

Frezzi, Il Quadriv. lib. ii. cap. 7.

One drench'd in mire before me came, and said :
 " Who art thou, that thus comest ere thine hour ? "

I answer'd : " Though I come, I tarry not :
 But who art thou, that art become so foul ? "

" One, as thou seest, who mourn : " he straight replied

To which I thus : " In mourning and in woe,
 Curst spirit ! tarry thou. I know thee well,
 E'en thus in filth disguised." Then stretch'd he forth
 Hands to the bark ; whereof my teacher sage
 Aware, thrusting him back : " Away ! down there
 To the other dogs ! " then, with his arms my neck
 Encircling, kiss'd my cheek, and spake : " O soul,
 Justly disdainful ! blest was she in whom
 Thou wast conceived¹. He in the world was one
 For arrogance noted : to his memory
 No virtue lends its lustre ; even so
 Here is his shadow furious. There above,
 How many now hold themselves mighty kings,
 Who here like swine shall wallow in the mire,
 Leaving behind them horrible dispraise."

I then : " Master ! him fain would I behold
 Whelm'd in these dregs, before we quit the lake."

He thus : " Or ever to thy view the shore
 Be offer'd, satisfied shall be that wish,
 Which well deserves completion." Scarce his words
 Were ended, when I saw the miry tribes
 Set on him with such violence, that yet
 For that render I thanks to God, and praise.
 " To Filippo Argenti² ! " cried they all :
 And on himself the moody Florentine
 Turn'd his avenging fangs. Him here we left,
 Nor speak I of him more. But on mine ear
 Sudden a sound of lamentation smote,
 Whereat mine eye unbarr'd I sent abroad.

¹ ——— *In whom*

Thou wast conceived.] " Che 'n te s'incinse." Several of the commentators have stumbled at this word, which is the same as "enceinte" in French, and "inciens" in Latin. For many instances, in which it is thus used, see the notes on Boccaccio's Decameron, p. 101. in the Giunti edition, 1573.

² *Filippo Argenti.*] Boccaccio tells us, "he was a man remarkable for the large proportions and extraordinary vigour of his bodily frame, and the extreme waywardness and irascibility of his temper." Decam. G. ix. N. 8.

And thus the good instructor : " Now, my son
Draws near the city, that of Dis is named ¹,
With its grave denizens, a mighty throng."

I thus : " The minarets already, Sir !
There, certes, in the valley I descri, ²
Gleaming vermilion, as if they from fire
Had issued." He replied : " Eternal fire,
That inward burns, shows them with ruddy flame
Illumed ; as in this nether hell thou seest."

We came within the fosses deep, that moat
This region comfortless. The walls appear'd
As they were framed of iron. We had made
Wide circuit, ere a place we reach'd, where loud
The mariner cried vehement : " Go forth :
The entrance is here." Upon the gates I spied
More than a thousand, who of old from heaven
Were shower'd ². With ireful gestures, " Who is this,"
They cried, " that, without death first felt, goes through
The regions of the dead ?" My sapient guide
Made sign that he for secret parley wish'd ;
Whereat their angry scorn abating, thus
They spake : " Come thou alone ; and let him go,
Who hath so hardily enter'd this realm.
Alone return he by his witless way ;
If well he know it, let him prove. For thee,
Here shalt thou tarry, who through clime so dark
Hast been his escort." Now bethink thee, reader !
What cheer was mine at sound of those curst words.
I did believe I never should return.

" O my loved guide ! who more than seven times ³

¹ *The city, that of Dis is named.*] So Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* c. xl. st. 32:
Fatto era un stagno più sicuro e brutto,
Di quel che cinge la città di Dite.

² ——— *From heaven*
Were shower'd.] Da ciel piovuti.

Thus Frezzi : — Li maladetti piovuti da cielo. *Il Quadr.* lib. iv. cap. 4.
And Pulci, in the passage cited in the note to C. xxi. 117. ³ *Seven times.*]
The commentators, says Venturi, perplex themselves with the inquiry what
seven perils these were from which Dante had been delivered by Virgil.
Reckoning the beasts in the first Canto as one of them, and adding Charon,
Minos, Cerberus, Plutus, Phlegyas, and Filippo Argenti, as so many others,
we shall have the number ; and if this be not satisfactory, we may suppose a
determinate to have been put for an indeterminate number

Security hast render'd me, and drawn
 From peril deep, whereto I stood exposed,
 Desert me not," I cried, "in this extreme.
 And, if our onward going be denied,
 Together trace we back our steps with speed."

My liege, who thither had conducted me,
 Replied ; "Fear not : for of our passage none
 Hath power to disappoint us, by such high
 Authority permitted. But do thou
 Expect me here ; meanwhile, thy wearied spirit
 Comfort, and feed with kindly hope, assured
 I will not leave thee in this lower world."

This said, departs the sire benevolent,
 And quits me. Hesitating I remain
 At war, 'twixt will and will not¹, in my thoughts.

I could not hear what terms he offer'd them,
 But they conferr'd not long, for all at once
 Pellmell² rush'd back within. Closed were the gates,
 By those our adversaries, on the breast
 Of my liege lord : excluded, he return'd
 To me with tardy steps. Upon the ground
 His eyes were bent, and from his brow erased
 All confidence, while thus in sighs he spake :
 "Who hath denied me these abodes of woe ?"
 Then thus to me ; "That I am anger'd, think
 No ground of terror : in this trial I
 Shall vanquish, use what arts they may within
 For hindrance. This their insolence, not new³,
 Erewhile at gate less secret they display'd,
 Which still is without bolt ; upon its arch

¹ *At war, 'twixt will and will not.*] Che sì, e nò nel capo mi tenzona.
 Thus our Poet in his eighth Canzone :

Ch' il sì, e' l nò tututto in vostra mano
 Ha posto amore.

And Boccaccio, Ninf. Fiesol. st. 233 : Il sì e il nò nel capo gli contende.

The words I have adopted as a translation, are Shakspeare's, *Measure for Measure*, a. ii. s. 1. ² *Pellmell.*] A pruova. "Certatim." "A l'envi." I had before translated "To trial;" and have to thank Mr. Carlyle for detecting the error. ³ *This their insolence, not new.*] Virgil assures our poet, that these evil spirits had formerly shown the same insolence when our Saviour descended into hell. They attempted to prevent him from entering at the gate, over which Dante had read the fatal inscription. "That gate which," says the Roman poet, "an angel had just passed, by whose aid we shall overcome this opposition, and gain admittance into the city."

Thou saw'st the deadly scroll : and even now,
 On this side of its entrance, down the steep,
 Passing the circles, unescorted, comes
 One whose strong might can open us this land."

~~~~~  
 C A N T O IX.  
 ———

ARGUMENT.

After some hindrances, and having seen the hellish furies and other monsters, the Poet, by the help of an angel, enters the city of Dis, wherein he discovers that the heretics are punished in tombs burning with intense fire : and he, together with Virgil, passes onwards between the sepulchres and the walls of the city.

THE hue<sup>1</sup>, which coward dread on my pale cheeks  
 Imprinted when I saw my guide turn back,  
 Chased that from his which newly they had worn,  
 And inwardly restrain'd it. He, as one  
 Who listens, stood attentive : for his eye  
 Not far could lead him through the sable air,  
 And the thick-gathering cloud. "It yet behoves  
 We win this fight ;" thus he began : "if not,  
 Such aid to us is offer'd.—Oh ! how long  
 Me seems it, ere the promised help arrive."

I noted, how the sequel of his words  
 Cloked their beginning ; for the last he spake  
 Agreed not with the first. But not the less  
 My fear was at his saying ; sith I drew  
 To import worse, perchance, than that he held.  
 His mutilated speech. "Doth ever any  
 Into this rueful concave's extreme depth  
 Descend, out of the first degree, whose pain  
 Is deprivation merely of sweet hope ?"

Thus I inquiring. "Rarely," he replied,  
 It chances, that among us any makes  
 This journey, which I wend. Erewhile, 'tis true,  
 Once came I here beneath, conjured by fell  
 Erictho<sup>2</sup>, sorceress, who compell'd the shades

---

<sup>1</sup> *The hue.*] Virgil, perceiving that Dante was pale with fear, restrained those outward tokens of displeasure which his own countenance had betrayed.

<sup>2</sup> *Erictho.*] Erictho, a Thessalian sorceress, according to Lucan, Phar-

Back to their bodies. No long space my flesh  
 Was naked of me<sup>1</sup>, when within these walls  
 She made me enter, to draw forth a spirit  
 From out of Judas' circle. Lowest place  
 Is that of all, obscurest, and removed  
 Furthest from heaven's all-circling orb. The road  
 Full well I know : thou therefore rest secure.  
 That lake, the noisome stench exhaling, round  
 The city of grief encompasses, which now  
 We may not enter without rage." Yet more  
 He added : but I hold it not in mind,  
 For that mine eye toward the lofty tower  
 Had drawn me wholly, to its burning top ;  
 Where, in an instant, I beheld uprisen  
 At once three hellish furies stain'd with blood :  
 In limb and motion feminine they seem'd ;  
 Around them greenest hydras twisting roll'd  
 Their volumes ; adders and cerastes<sup>2</sup> crept  
 Instead of hair, and their fierce temples bound.

He, knowing well the miserable hags  
 Who tend the queen of endless woe, thus spake :  
 "Mark thou each dire Erynnis. To the left,  
 This is Megæra ; on the right hand, she  
 Who wails, Alecto ; and Tisiphone  
 I th' midst." This said, in silence he remain'd.

sal. l. vi. was employed by Sextus, son of Pompey the Great, to conjure up a spirit, who should inform him of the issue of the civil wars between his father and Cæsar.

<sup>1</sup> ——— *No long space my flesh  
 Was naked of me.]*

Quæ corpus complexa animæ tam fortis inane. *Ovid. Met. l. xiii. fab. 2.*

Dante appears to have fallen into an anachronism. Virgil's death did not happen till long after this period. But Lombardi shows, in opposition to the other commentators, that the anachronism is only apparent. Erictho might well have survived the battle of Pharsalia long enough to be employed in her magical practices at the time of Virgil's decease.

<sup>2</sup> *Adders and cerastes.]*

Vipereum crinem vittis innexa cruentis. *Virg. Æn. l. vi. 281.*

—— spinâque vagi torquente cerastæ

\* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* et torrida dipsas

Et gravis in geminum vergens caput amphibæna.

*Lucan. Pharsal. l. ix. 719.*

So Milton : Scorpion and asp, and amphibæna dire,  
 Cerastes horn'd, hydrus and elops drear,  
 And dipsas.——

*P. L. b. x. 524.*

Their breast they each one clawing tore ; themselves  
Smote with their palms, and such thrill clamour raised,  
That to the bard I clung, suspicion-bound.

“Hasten Medusa : so to adamant  
Him shall we change ;” all looking down exclaim’d :  
“E’en when by Theseus’ might assail’d, we took  
No ill revenge.” “Turn thyself round, and keep  
Thy countenance hid ; for if the Gorgon dire  
Be shown, and thou shouldst view it, thy return  
Upwards would be for ever lost.” This said,  
Himself, my gentle master, turn’d me round ;  
Nor trusted he my hands, but with his own  
He also hid me. Ye of intellect  
Sound and entire, mark well the lore<sup>1</sup> conceal’d  
Under close texture of the mystic strain.

And now there came o’er the perturbed waves  
Loud-crashing, terrible, a sound that made  
Either shore tremble, as if of a wind<sup>2</sup>  
Impetuous, from conflicting vapours sprung,  
That ’gainst some forest driving all his might,  
Plucks off the branches, beats them down, and hurls  
Afar<sup>3</sup> ; then, onward passing, proudly sweeps  
His whirlwind rage, while beasts and shepherds fly.

Mine eyes he loosed, and spake : “And now direct  
Thy visual nerve along that ancient foam,

<sup>1</sup> *The lore.*] The Poet probably intends to call the reader’s attention to the allegorical and mystic sense of the present Canto, and not, as Venturi supposes, to that of the whole work. Landino supposes this hidden meaning to be, that in the case of those vices which proceed from incontinence and intemperance, reason, which is figured under the person of Virgil, with the ordinary grace of God, may be a sufficient safeguard ; but that in the instance of more heinous crimes, such as those we shall hereafter see punished, a special grace, represented by the angel, is requisite for our defence.

<sup>2</sup> *A wind.*] Imitated by Berni :

Com’ un gruppo di vento in la marina  
L’ onde, e le navi sottosopra caccia,  
Ed in terra con furia repentina  
Gli arbori abbatte, sveglie, sfronda e straccia.  
Smarriti fuggon i lavoratori  
E per le selve le fiere e’ pastori. *Orl. Inn. lib. i. c. ii. st. 6.*

<sup>3</sup> *Afar.*] “Porta i fiori,” “carries away the blossoms,” is the common reading. “Porta fuori,” which is the right reading, adopted by Lombardi in his edition from the Nidobeatina, for which he claims it exclusively, I had also seen in Landino’s edition of 1484, and adopted from thence, long before it was my chance to meet with Lombardi.

There, thickest where the smoke ascends." As frogs  
 Before their foe the serpent, through the wave  
 Ply swiftly all, till at the ground each one  
 Lies on a heap; more than a thousand spirits  
 Destroy'd, so saw I fleeing before one  
 Who pass'd with unwet feet the Stygian sound.  
 He, from his face removing the gross air,  
 Oft his left hand forth stretch'd, and seem'd alone  
 By that annoyance wearied. I perceived  
 That he was sent from heaven; and to my guide  
 Turn'd me, who signal made, that I should stand  
 Quiet, and bend to him. Ah me! how full  
 Of noble anger seem'd he. To the gate  
 He came, and with his wand<sup>1</sup> touch'd it, whereat  
 Open without impediment it flew.

"Outcasts of heaven! O abject race, and scorn'd!"  
 Began he, on the horrid grunsel standing,  
 "Whence doth this wild excess of insolence  
 Lodge in you? wherefore kick you 'gainst that will  
 Ne'er frustrate of its end, and which so oft  
 Hath laid on you enforcement of your pangs?  
 What profits, at the fates to butt the horn?  
 Your Cerberus<sup>2</sup>, if ye remember, hence  
 Bears still, peel'd of their hair, his throat and maw."

This said, he turn'd back o'er the filthy way,  
 And syllable to us spake none; but wore  
 The semblance of a man by other care  
 Beset, and keenly prest, than thought of him  
 Who in his presence stands. Then we our steps  
 Toward that territory moved, secure  
 After the hallow'd words. We, unopposed,  
 There enter'd; and, my mind eager to learn  
 What state a fortress like to that might hold,

---

<sup>1</sup> *With his wand.*]

She with her rod did softly smite the raile,  
 Which straight flew ope. *Spenser, F. Q. b. iv. c. iii. st. 46.*

<sup>2</sup> *Your Cerberus.*] Cerberus is feigned to have been dragged by Hercules bound with a threefold chain, of which, says the angel, he still bears the marks. Lombardi blames the other interpreters for having supposed that the angel attributes this exploit to Hercules, a fabulous hero, rather than to our Saviour. It would seem as if the good father had forgotten that Cerberus is himself no less a creature of the imagination than the hero who encountered him.



I, soon as enter'd, throw mine eye around,  
And see, on every part, wide-stretching space,  
Replete with bitter pain and torment ill.

As where Rhone stagnates on the plains of Arles<sup>1</sup>,  
Or as at Pola<sup>2</sup>, near Quarnaro's gulf,  
That closes Italy and laves her bounds,  
The place is all thick spread with sepulchres;  
So was it here, save what in horror here  
Excell'd: for 'midst the graves were scatter'd flames,  
Wherewith intensely all throughout they burn'd<sup>3</sup>,  
That iron for no craft there hotter needs.

Their lids all hung suspended; and beneath,  
From them forth issued lamentable moans,  
Such as the sad and tortured well might raise.

I thus: "Master! say who are these, interr'd  
Within these vaults, of whom distinct we hear  
The dolorous sighs." He answer thus return'd:  
"The arch-heretics are here, accompanied  
By every sect their followers; and much more,  
Than thou believest, the tombs are freighted: like  
With like is buried; and the monuments  
Are different in degrees of heat." This said,  
He to the right hand turning, on we pass'd  
Betwixt the afflicted and the ramparts high.

<sup>1</sup> *The plains of Arles.*] In Provence. See Ariosto, *Orl. Fur.* c. xxxix. et. 72:

Fu da ogni parte in quest' ultima guerra  
(Benche la cosa non fu ugual divisa,  
Ch' assai più andar dei Saracin sotterra  
Per man di Bradamante e di Marfisa)  
Se ne vede ancor segno in quella terra,  
Che presso ad Arli, ove il Rodano stagna,  
Piena di sepolture è la campagna.

These sepulchres are mentioned in the *Life of Charlemagne*, which goes under the name of Archbishop Turpin, cap. 28. and 30. and by Fazio degli Uberti, *Dittamondo*, L. iv. cap. xxi. <sup>2</sup> *At Pola.*] A city of Istria, situated near the gulf of Quarnaro, in the Adriatic sea. <sup>3</sup> *They burn'd.* Mr. Darley observes, that in the Incantation of Hervor (v. Northern Antiquities, vol. ii.) the spirit of Angantyr lies in a tomb "all on fire."

## CANTO X.

## ARGUMENT.

Dante, having obtained permission from his guide, holds discourse with Farinata degli Uberti and Cavalcante Cavalcanti, who lie in their fiery tombs that are yet open, and not to be closed up till after the last judgment. Farinata predicts the Poet's exile from Florence; and shows him that the condemned have knowledge of future things, but are ignorant of what is at present passing, unless it be revealed by some new comer from earth.

Now by a secret pathway we proceed,  
Between the walls, that hem the region round,  
And the tormented souls : my master first,  
I close behind his steps. "Virtue supreme !"  
I thus began : "who through these ample orbs  
In circuit lead'st me, even as thou will'st ;  
Speak thou, and satisfy my wish. May those,  
Who lie within these sepulchres, be seen ?  
Already all the lids are raised, and none  
O'er them keeps watch." He thus in answer spake :  
"They shall be closed all, what-time they here  
From Josaphat<sup>1</sup> return'd shall come, and bring  
Their bodies, which above they now have left.  
The cemetery on this part obtain,  
With Epicurus, all his followers,  
Who with the body make the spirit die.  
Here therefore satisfaction shall be soon,  
Both to the question ask'd, and to the wish<sup>2</sup>  
Which thou conceal'st in silence." I replied :  
"I keep not, guide beloved ! from thee my heart  
Secreted, but to shun vain length of words ;  
A lesson erewhile taught me by thyself."  
"O Tuscan ! thou, who through the city of fire

---

<sup>1</sup> *Josaphat.*] It seems to have been a common opinion among the Jews, as well as among many Christians, that the general judgment will be held in the valley of Josaphat, or Jehoshaphat: "I will also gather all nations, and will bring them down into the valley of Jehoshaphat, and will plead with them there for my people, and for my heritage Israel, whom they have scattered among the nations, and parted my land." Joel, iii. 2. <sup>2</sup> *The wish.*] The wish, that Dante had not expressed, was to see and converse with the followers of Epicurus; among whom, we shall see, were Farinata degli Uberti and Cavalcante Cavalcanti.

Alive art passing, so discreet of speech :  
 Here, please thee, stay awhile. Thy utterance  
 Declares the place of thy nativity  
 To be that noble land, with which perchance  
 I too severely dealt." Sudden that sound  
 Forth issued from a vault, whereat, in fear,  
 I somewhat closer to my leader's side  
 Approaching, he thus spake : " What dost thou ? **Turn :**  
 Lo ! Farinata<sup>1</sup> there, who hath himself  
 Uplifted : from his girdle upwards, all  
 Exposed, behold him." On his face was mine  
 Already fix'd : his breast and forehead there  
 Erecting, seem'd as in high scorn he held  
 E'en hell. Between the sepulchres, to him  
 My guide thrust me, with fearless hands and prompt ;  
 This warning added : " See thy words be clear."

He, soon as there I stood at the tomb's foot,  
 Eyed me a space ; then in disdainful mood  
 Address'd me : " Say what ancestors were thine."

I, willing to obey him, straight reveal'd  
 The whole, nor kept back aught : whence he, his brow  
 Somewhat uplifting, cried : " Fiercely were they  
 Adverse to me, my party, and the blood  
 From whence I sprang : twice<sup>2</sup>, therefore, I abroad  
 Scatter'd them." " Though driven out, yet they each  
 From all parts," answer'd I, " return'd ; an art [time  
 Which yours have shown they are not skill'd to learn."

Then, peering forth from the unclosed jaw,  
 Rose from his side a shade<sup>3</sup>, high as the chin,  
 Leaning, methought, upon its knees upraised.  
 It look'd around, as eager to explore

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<sup>1</sup> *Farinata.*] Farinata degli Uberti, a noble Florentine, was the leader of the Ghibelline faction, when they obtained a signal victory over the Guelfi at Montaperto, near the river Arbia. Machiavelli calls him "a man of exalted soul, and great military talents." Hist. of Flor. b. ii. His grandson, Bonifacio, or, as he is commonly called, Fazio degli Uberti, wrote a poem, entitled the Dittamondo, in imitation of Dante. I shall have frequent occasion to refer to it throughout these notes. At the conclusion of cap. 27, l. ii. he makes mention of his ancestor Farinata. See note <sup>4</sup> to Life of Dante, p. xxvi. <sup>2</sup> *Twice.*] The first time in 1248, when they were driven out by Frederick the Second. See G. Villani, lib. vi. c. xxxiv. ; and the second time in 1260. See note to v. 83. <sup>3</sup> *A shade.*] The spirit of Cavalcante Cavalcanti, a noble Florentine, of the Guelph party

If there were other with me ; but perceiving  
 That fond imagination quench'd, with tears  
 Thus spake : " If thou through this blind prison go'st,  
 Led by thy lofty genius and profound,  
 Where is my son<sup>1</sup> ? and wherefore not with thee ? "

I straight replied : " Not of myself I come ;  
 By him, who there expects me, through this clime  
 Conducted, whom perchance Guido thy son  
 Had in contempt<sup>2</sup>." Already had his words

<sup>1</sup> *My son.*] Guido, the son of Cavalcante Cavalcanti ; " he whom I call the first of my friends," says Dante in his *Vita Nuova*, where the commencement of their friendship is related. From the character given of him by contemporary writers, his temper was well formed to assimilate with that of our Poet. " He was," according to G. Villani, lib. viii. c. xli. " of a philosophical and elegant mind, if he had not been too delicate and fastidious." And Dino Compagni terms him " a young and noble knight, brave and courteous, but of a lofty, scornful spirit, much addicted to solitude and study." Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.* t. 9. lib. i. p. 481. He died, either in exile at Serrazana, or soon after his return to Florence, December 1300, during the spring of which year the action of this poem is supposed to be passing.

<sup>2</sup> ——— *Guido thy son*

*Had in contempt.*] Guido Cavalcanti, being more given to philosophy than poetry, was perhaps no great admirer of Virgil. Some poetical compositions by Guido are, however, still extant ; and his reputation for skill in the art was such as to eclipse that of his predecessor and namesake Guido Guinicelli ; as we shall see in the *Purgatory*, Canto xi. in the notes to which the reader will find specimens of the poems that have been left by each of these writers. His "*Canzone sopra il Terreno Amore*" was thought worthy of being illustrated by numerous and ample commentaries. Crescimbeni, *Ist. della Volg. Poes.* lib. v. Our author addressed him in a playful sonnet, of which the following spirited translation is found in the notes to Hayley's *Essay on Epic Poetry*. Ep. iii. :

Henry ! I wish that you, and Charles, and I,  
 By some sweet spell within a bark were placed,  
 A gallant bark with magic virtue graced,  
 Swift at our will with every wind to fly ;  
 So that no changes of the shifting sky,  
 No stormy terrors of the watery waste,  
 Might bar our course, but heighten still our taste  
 Of sprightly joy, and of our social tie.  
 Then that my Lucy, Lucy fair and free,  
 With those soft nymphs, on whom your souls are bent,  
 The kind magician might to us convey,  
 To talk of love throughout the live-long day ;  
 And that each fair might be as well content,  
 As I in truth believe our hearts would be.

The two friends, here called Henry and Charles, are, in the original, Guido and Lapo, concerning the latter of whom see the *Life of Dante* prefixed : and Lucy is Monna Bice. A more literal version of the sonnet may be found in the "*Canzoniere of Dante*, translated by Charles Lyell, Esq." 8vo. Lond. 1835. p. 407



And mode of punishment read me his name,  
 Whence I so fully answer'd. He at once  
 Exclaim'd, up starting, "How! said'st thou, he *had*<sup>1</sup>?  
 No longer lives he? Strikes not on his eye  
 The blessed daylight?" Then, of some delay  
 I made ere my reply, aware, down fell  
 Supine, nor after forth appear'd he more.

Meanwhile the other, great of soul, near whom  
 I yet was station'd, changed not countenance stern,  
 Nor moved the neck, nor bent his ribbed side.  
 "And if," continuing the first discourse,  
 "They in this art," he cried, "small skill have shown;  
 That doth torment me more e'en than this bed.  
 But not yet fifty times<sup>2</sup> shall be relumed  
 Her aspect, who reigns here queen of this realm<sup>3</sup>,  
 Ere thou shalt know the full weight of that art.  
 So to the pleasant world mayst thou return<sup>4</sup>,  
 As thou shalt tell me why, in all their laws,  
 Against my kin this people is so fell."

"The slaughter<sup>5</sup> and great havoc," I replied,

<sup>1</sup> *Said'st thou, he had?*] In Æschylus, the shade of Darius is represented as inquiring with similar anxiety after the fate of his son Xerxes.

*Atossa.* Μονάδα δὲ Ξέρξην ἔρημόν φασιν οὐ πολλῶν μέτα—

*Darius.* Πῶς δὲ δὴ καὶ ποῖ τελευτᾷ; ἔστι τις σωτηρία;

ΠΕΡΣΑΙ. 741. *Blomfield's Edit.*

*Atossa.* Xerxes astonish'd, desolate, alone—

*Ghost of Dar.* How will this end? Nay, pause not. Is he safe?

*The Persians.* *Potter's Translation.*

<sup>2</sup> *Not yet fifty times.*] "Not fifty months shall be passed, before thou shalt learn, by woeful experience, the difficulty of returning from banishment to thy native city." <sup>3</sup> *Queen of this realm.*] The moon, one of whose titles in heathen mythology, was Proserpine, queen of the shades below.

<sup>4</sup> *So to the pleasant world mayst thou return.*]

E se tu mai nel dolce mondo reggi.

Lombardi would construe this: "And if thou ever remain in the pleasant world." His chief reasons for thus departing from the common interpretation, are, first that "se" in the sense of "so" cannot be followed by "mai," any more than in Latin "sic" can be followed by "unquam;" and next, that "reggi" is too unlike "riedi" to be put for it. A more intimate acquaintance with the early Florentine writers would have taught him that "mai" is used in other senses than those which "unquam" appears to have had, particularly in that of "pur," "yet;" as may be seen in the notes to the Decameron, p. 43. Ed. Giunti, 1573; and that the old writers both of prose and verse changed "riedo" into "reggio," as of "fiedo" they made "feggio." Inf. c. xv. v. 39. and c. xvii. v. 75. See page 98 of the same notes to the Decameron, where a poet before Dante's time is said to have translated "Redeunt flores," "Reggiono i fiori." <sup>5</sup> *The slaughter.*] "By means of Farinata degli Uberti, the Guefti were conquered by the army of

“That colour’d Arbia’s flood with crimson stain—  
 To these impute, that in our hallow’d dome  
 Such orisons<sup>1</sup> ascend.” Sighing he shook  
 The head, then thus resumed: “In that affray  
 I stood not singly, nor, without just cause,  
 Assuredly, should with the rest have stirr’d;  
 But singly there I stood<sup>2</sup>, when, by consent  
 Of all, Florence had to the ground been razed,  
 The one who openly forbade the deed.”

“So may thy lineage<sup>3</sup> find at last repose,”  
 I thus adjured him, “as thou solve this knot,  
 Which now involves my mind. If right I hear,  
 Ye seem to view beforehand that which time  
 Leads with him, of the present uninform’d.”

“We view<sup>4</sup>, as one who hath an evil sight,”

---

king Manfredi, near the river Arbia, with so great a slaughter, that those who escaped from that defeat took refuge, not in Florence, which city they considered as lost to them, but in Lucca.” Macchiavelli, *Hist. of Flor.* b. ii. and G. Villani, lib. vi. c. lxxx. and lxxxi. <sup>1</sup> *Such orisons.*] This appears to allude to certain prayers which were offered up in the churches of Florence, for deliverance from the hostile attempts of the Uberti: or, it may be, that the public councils being held in churches, the speeches delivered in them against the Uberti are termed “orisons,” or prayers. <sup>2</sup> *Singly there I stood.*] Guido Novello assembled a council of the Ghibellini at Empoli; where it was agreed by all, that, in order to maintain the ascendancy of the Ghibelline party in Tuscany, it was necessary to destroy Florence, which could serve only (the people of that city being Guelſi) to enable the party attached to the church to recover its strength. This cruel sentence, passed upon so noble a city, met with no opposition from any of its citizens or friends, except Farinata degli Uberti, who openly and without reserve forbade the measure; affirming, that he had endured so many hardships, and encountered so many dangers, with no other view than that of being able to pass his days in his own country. Macchiavelli, *Hist. of Flor.* b. ii.

<sup>3</sup> *So may thy lineage.*] Deh se riposi mai vostra semenza.

Here Lombardi is again mistaken, as at v. 80, above. Let me take this occasion to apprise the reader of Italian poetry, that one not well versed in it is very apt to misapprehend the word “se,” as I think Cowper has done in translating Milton’s Italian verses. A good instance of the different meanings, in which it is used, is afforded in the following lines by Bernardo Capello:

E tu, che dolcemente i fiori e l’erba  
 Con lieve corso mormorando bagni,  
 Tranquillo fiume di vaghezza pieno;  
 Se’l cielo al mar sì chiaro t’accompagni;  
 Se punto di pietade in te si serba:  
 Le mie lagrime accogli entro al tuo seno.

Here the first “se” signifies “so,” and the second “if.”

<sup>4</sup> *We view.*] “The departed spirits know things past and to come; yet are ignorant of things present. Agamemnon foretels what should happen unto Ulysses, yet ignorantly inquires what is become of his own son.” *Brown on Urne Burial.* Ch. iv.

He answer'd, "plainly, objects far remote ;  
 So much of his large splendour yet imparts  
 The Almighty Ruler : but when they approach,  
 Or actually exist, our intellect  
 Then wholly fails ; nor of your human state,  
 Except what others bring us, know we aught.  
 Hence therefore mayst thou understand, that all  
 Our knowledge in that instant shall expire,  
 When on futurity the portals close."

Then conscious of my fault<sup>1</sup>, and by remorse  
 Smitten, I added thus : "Now shalt thou say  
 To him there fallen, that his offspring still  
 Is to the living join'd ; and bid him know,  
 That if from answer, silent, I abstain'd,  
 'Twas that my thought was occupied, intent  
 Upon that error, which thy help hath solved."

But now my master summoning me back  
 I heard, and with more eager haste besought  
 The spirit to inform me, who with him  
 Partook his lot. He answer thus return'd :  
 "More than a thousand with me here are laid.  
 Within is Frederick<sup>2</sup>, second of that name,  
 And the Lord Cardinal<sup>3</sup>; and of the rest  
 I speak not." He, this said, from sight withdrew.  
 But I my steps toward the ancient bard  
 Reverting, ruminated on the words  
 Betokening me such ill. Onward he moved,

---

<sup>1</sup> *My fault.*] Dante felt remorse for not having returned an immediate answer to the inquiry of Cavalcante, from which delay he was led to believe that his son Guido was no longer living. <sup>2</sup> *Frederick.*] The Emperor Frederick the Second, who died in 1250. See notes to Canto xiii. <sup>3</sup> *The Lord Cardinal.*] Ottaviano Ubaldini, a Florentine, made cardinal in 1245, and deceased about 1273. On account of his great influence, he was generally known by the appellation of "the Cardinal." It is reported of him, that he declared, if there were any such thing as a human soul, he had lost his for the Ghibellini. "I know not," says Tiraboschi, "whether it is on sufficient grounds that Crescimbeni numbers among the poets of this age the Cardinal Uttaviano, or Ottaviano degli Ubaldini, a Florentine, archdeacon and procurator of the church of Bologna, afterwards made Cardinal by Innocent IV. in 1245, and employed in the most important public affairs, wherein, however, he showed himself, more than became his character, a favourer of the Ghibellines. He died, not in the year 1272, as Ciaconio and other writers have reported, but at soonest after the July of 1273, at which time he was in Mugello with Pope Gregory X." *Tiraboschi Della Poes. It. Mr. Mathias's Edit. t. i. p. 140*



And thus, in going, question'd : " Whence the amaze  
That holds thy senses wrapt ? " I satisfied  
The inquiry, and the sage enjoin'd me straight :  
" Let thy safe memory store what thou hast heard  
To thee importing harm ; and note thou this ,"  
With his raised finger bidding me take heed,  
" When thou shalt stand before her gracious beam '<sup>1</sup>,  
Whose bright eye all surveys, she of thy life  
The future tenour will to thee unfold ."

Forthwith he to the left hand turn'd his feet :  
We left the wall, and towards the middle space  
Went by a path that to a valley strikes,  
Which e'en thus high exhaled its noisome steam.

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CANTO XI.

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ARGUMENT.

Dante arrives at the verge of a rocky precipice which encloses the seventh circle, where he sees the sepulchre of Anastasius the Heretic ; behind the lid of which pausing a little, to make himself capable by degrees of enduring the fetid smell that steamed upward from the abyss, he is instructed by Virgil concerning the manner in which the three following circles are disposed, and what description of sinners is punished in each. He then inquires the reason why the carnal, the gluttonous, the avaricious and prodigal, the wrathful and gloomy, suffer not their punishments within the city of Dis. He next asks how the crime of usury is an offence against God ; and at length the two Poets go towards the place from whence a passage leads down to the seventh circle.

UPON the utmost verge of a high bank,
By craggy rocks environ'd round, we came,
Where woes beneath, more cruel yet, were stow'd :
And here, to shun the horrible excess
Of fetid exhalation upward cast
From the profound abyss, behind the lid
Of a great monument we stood retired,
Whereon this scroll I mark'd : " I have in charge
Pope Anastasius², whom Photinus drew

¹ *Her gracious beam.*] Beatrice.

² *Pope Anastasius.*] The commentators are not agreed concerning the person who is here mentioned as a follower of the heretical Photinus. By some he is supposed to have been Anastasius the Second ; by others, the Fourth of that name ; while a third set, jealous of the integrity of the papal

From the right path."—"Ere our descent, behoves
 We make delay, that somewhat first the sense,
 To the dire breath accustom'd, afterward
 Regard it not." My master thus; to whom
 Answering I spake: "Some compensation find,
 'That the time pass not wholly lost." He then:
 "Lo! how my thoughts e'en to thy wishes tend.
 My son¹! within these rocks," he thus began,
 "Are three close circles in gradation placed,
 As these which now thou leavest. Each one is full
 Of spirits accurst; but that the sight alone
 Hereafter may suffice thee, listen how
 And for what cause in durance they abide.

"Of all malicious act abhorr'd in heaven,
 The end is injury; and all such end
 Either by force or fraud² works other's woe.
 But fraud, because of man peculiar evil,
 To God is more displeasing; and beneath,
 The fraudulent are therefore doom'd to endure
 Severer pang. The violent occupy
 All the first circle; and because, to force,
 Three persons are obnoxious, in three rounds,
 Each within other separate, is it framed.
 To God, his neighbour, and himself, by man
 Force may be offer'd; to himself I say,
 And his possessions, as thou soon shalt hear
 At full. Death, violent death, and painful wounds
 Upon his neighbour he inflicts; and wastes,
 By devastation, pillage, and the flames,
 His substance. Slayers, and each one that smites
 In malice, plunderers, and all robbers, hence
 The torment undergo of the first round,
 In different herds. Man can do violence
 To himself and his own blessings: and for this,

faith, contend that our Poet has confounded him with Anastasius I. Emperor of the East. Fazio degli Uberti, like our author, makes him a pope:

Anastasio papa in quel tempo era,

Di Fotin vago a mal grado de sui. Dittamondo, l. ii. cap. xiv.

¹ *My son.*] The remainder of the present Canto may be considered as a syllabus of the whole of this part of the poem. ² *Either by force or fraud.*]

"Cum autem duobus modis, id est, aut vi, aut fraude, fiat injuria . . utrumque homini alienissimum; sed fraus odio digna majore." *Cic. de Off. lib. i. c. xiii*

He, in the second round must aye deplore
 With unavailing penitence his crime,
 Whoe'er deprives himself of life and light,
 In reckless lavishment his talent wastes,
 And sorrows¹ there where he should dwell in joy
 To God may force be offer'd, in the heart
 Denying and blaspheming his high power,
 And Nature with her kindly law contemning.
 And thence the inmost round marks with its seal
 Sodom, and Cahors², and all such as speak
 Contemptuously of the Godhead in their hearts.

“Fraud, that in every conscience leaves a sting,
 May be by man employ'd on one, whose trust
 He wins, or on another who withholds
 Strict confidence. Seems as the latter way
 Broke but the bond of love which Nature makes.
 Whence in the second circle have their nest,
 Dissimulation, witchcraft, flatteries,
 Theft, falsehood, simony, all who seduce
 To lust, or set their honesty at pawn,
 With such vile scum as these. The other way
 Forgets both Nature's general love, and that
 Which thereto added afterward gives birth
 To special faith. Whence in the lesser circle,
 Point of the universe, dread seat of Dis,
 The traitor is eternally consumed.”

I thus : “Instructor, clearly thy discourse
 Proceeds, distinguishing the hideous chasm
 And its inhabitants with skill exact.
 But tell me this : they of the dull, fat pool,
 Whom the rain beats, or whom the tempest drives,
 Or who with tongues so fierce conflicting meet,
 Wherefore within the city fire-illumed
 Are not these punish'd, if God's wrath be on them ?
 And if it be not, wherefore in such guise

¹ *And sorrows.*] This fine moral, that not to enjoy our being is to be ungrateful to the Author of it, is well expressed in Spenser, F. Q. b. iv. c. viii. st. 15.

For he whose daies in wilful woe are worne,
 The grace of his Creator doth despise,
 That will not use his gifts for thankless nigardise

² *Cahors.*] A city of Guienne, much frequented by usurers.

Are they condemn'd?" He answer thus return'd :
 "Wherefore in dotage wanders thus thy mind,
 Not so accusom'd? or what other thoughts
 Possess it? Dwell not in thy memory
 The words, wherein thy ethic page¹ describes
 Three dispositions adverse to Heaven's will,
 Incontinence, malice, and mad brutishness,
 And how incontinence the least offends
 God, and least guilt incurs? If well thou note
 This judgment, and remember who they are,
 Without these walls to vain repentance doom'd,
 Thou shalt discern why they apart are placed
 From these fell spirits, and less wreakful pours
 Justice divine on them its vengeance down."

"O sun! who healest all imperfect sight,
 Thou so content'st me, when thou solvest my doubt,
 That ignorance not less than knowledge charms.
 Yet somewhat turn thee back," I in these words
 Continued, "where thou said'st, that usury
 Offends celestial Goodness; and this knot
 Perplex'd unravel." He thus made reply :
 "Philosophy, to an attentive ear,
 Clearly points out, not in one part alone,
 How imitative Nature takes her course
 From the celestial mind, and from its art :
 And where her laws² the Stagirite unfolds,
 Not many leaves scann'd o'er, observing well
 Thou shalt discover, that your art on her
 Obsequious follows, as the learner treads
 In his instructor's step; so that your art

¹ *Thy ethic page.*] He refers to Aristotle's Ethics: "Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα λεκτέον, ἄλλην ποιησαμένους ἀρχήν, ὅτι τῶν περὶ τὰ ἥθη φευκτῶν τρία ἐστὶν εἶδη, κακία, ἀκρασία, θηριότης." *Ethic. Nicomach.* lib. vii. c. 1. "In the next place, entering on another division of the subject, let it be defined, that respecting morals there are three sorts of things to be avoided, malice, incontinence, and brutishness." ² *Her laws.*] Aristotle's Physics.—"Ἡ τέχνη μιμεῖται τὴν φύσιν." Arist. ΦΥΣ. ΑΚΡ. lib. ii. c. 2. "Art imitates nature."—See the *Coltivazione* of Alamanni, lib. i.

— *l'arte umana*

Altro non è da dir ch' un dolce sprone,
 Un corregger soave, un pio sostegno,
 Uno esperto imitar, comporre accorto
 Un sollecito attar con studio e'ngegno
 La cagion natural, l' effetto, e l' opra.

Deserves the name of second in descent¹
 From God. These two, if thou recal to mind
 Creation's holy book², from the beginning
 Were the right source of life and excellence
 To human kind. But in another path
 The usurer walks; and Nature in herself
 And in her follower thus he sets at nought,
 Placing elsewhere his hope³. But follow now
 My steps on forward journey bent; for now
 The Pisces play with undulating glance
 Along the horizon, and the Wain⁴ lies all
 O'er the north-west; and onward there a space
 Is our steep passage down the rocky height."

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## CANTO XII.

—

### ARGUMENT.

Descending by a very rugged way into the seventh circle, where the violent are punished, Dante and his leader find it guarded by the Minotaur; whose fury being pacified by Virgil, they step downwards from crag to crag; till, drawing near the bottom, they descry a river of blood, wherein are tormented such as have committed violence against their neighbour. At these, when they strive to emerge from the blood, a troop of Centaurs, running along the side of the river, aim their arrows; and three of their band opposing our travellers at the foot of the steep, Virgil prevails so far, that one consents to carry them both across the stream; and on their passage, Dante is informed by him of the course of the river, and of those that are punished therein.

THE place, where to descend the precipice  
 We came, was rough as Alp; and on its verge  
 Such object lay, as every eye would shun.  
 As is that ruin, which Adice's stream<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Second in descent.*] Si che vostr' arte a Dio quasi è nipote.  
 So Frezzi:—Giustizia fu da cielo, e di Dio è figlia,

E ogni bona legge a Dio è nipote. *Il Quadrir.* lib. iv. cap. 2.

<sup>2</sup> *Creation's holy book.*] Genesis, c. ii. v. 15: "And the Lord God took the man, and put him into the garden of Eden, to dress it, and to keep it." And, Genesis, c. iii. v. 19: "In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread."

<sup>3</sup> *Placing elsewhere his hope.*] The usurer, trusting in the produce of his wealth lent out on usury, despises nature directly, because he does not avail himself of her means for maintaining or enriching himself; and indirectly, because he does not avail himself of the means which art, the follower and imitator of nature, would afford him for the same purposes.

<sup>4</sup> *The Wain.*] The constellation Boötes, or Charles's Wain.

<sup>5</sup> *Adice's stream.*] After a great deal having been said on the subject, it



On this side Trento struck, shouldering the wave,  
 Or loosed by earthquake or for lack of prop;  
 For from the mountain's summit, whence it moved  
 To the low level, so the headlong rock  
 Is shiver'd, that some passage<sup>1</sup> it might give  
 To him who from above would pass; e'en such  
 Into the chasm was that descent: and there  
 At point of the disparted ridge lay stretch'd  
 The infamy of Crete<sup>2</sup>, detested brood  
 Of the feign'd heifer<sup>3</sup>: and at sight of us  
 It gnaw'd itself, as one with rage distract.  
 To him my guide exclaim'd: "Perchance thou deem'st  
 The King of Athens<sup>4</sup> here, who, in the world  
 Above, thy death contrived. Monster! avaunt!  
 He comes not tutor'd by thy sister's art<sup>5</sup>,  
 But to behold your torments is he come."

Like to a bull<sup>6</sup>, that with impetuous spring  
 Darts, at the moment when the fatal blow  
 Hath struck him, but unable to proceed

still appears very uncertain at what part of the river this fall of the mountain happened. <sup>1</sup> *Some passage.*] Lombardi erroneously, I think, understands by "alcuna via" "no passage;" in which sense "alcuno" is certainly sometimes used by some old writers. Monti, as usual, agrees with Lombardi. See note to c. iii. v. 40. <sup>2</sup> *The infamy of Crete.*] The Minotaur.

<sup>3</sup> *The feign'd heifer.*] Pasiphaë. <sup>4</sup> *The king of Athens.*] Theseus, who was enabled by the instruction of Ariadne, the sister of the Minotaur, to destroy that monster. "Duca d'Atene." So Chaucer calls Theseus:

Whilom, as olde stories tellen us,

There was a duk, that highte Theseus. *The Knight's Tale.*

And Shakspeare: Happy be Theseus, our renowned Duke.

*Midsummer Night's Dream*, a. i. s. 1.

"This is in reality," observes Mr. Douce, "no misapplication of a modern title, as Mr. Stevens conceived, but a legitimate use of the word in its primitive Latin sense of leader, and so it is often used in the Bible. Shakspeare might have found Duke Theseus in the Book of Troy, or in Turberville's Ovid's Epistles. See the argument to that of Phædra and Hippolytus." *Douce's Illustrations of Shakspeare*. 8vo. 1807. vol. i. p. 179.

<sup>5</sup> *Thy sister's art.*] Ariadne.

<sup>6</sup> *Like to a bull.*]

Ὦς δ' ὅταν ὄξυν ἔχων πέλεκυν αἰζηῖος ἀνὴρ,

κόψας ἐξόπιθεν κεράων βοὸς ἀγραύλοιο,

ἵνα τάμῃ διὰ πᾶσαν, ὃ δὲ προθορῶν ἐρίπησιν.

*Homer. Il.* l. xvii. 522.

As when some vigorous youth with sharpen'd axe

A pastured bullock smites behind the horns,

And hews the muscle through; he at the stroke

Springs forth and falls.

*Cowper's Translation*

Plunges on either side ; so saw I plunge  
 The Minotaur ; whereat the sage exclaim'd :  
 " Run to the passage ! while he storms, 'tis well  
 That thou descend." Thus down our road we took  
 Through those dilapidated crags, that oft  
 Moved underneath my feet, to weight<sup>1</sup> like theirs  
 Unused. I pondering went, and thus he spake :  
 " Perhaps thy thoughts are of this ruin'd steep,  
 Guarded by the brute violence, which I  
 Have vanquish'd now. Know then, that when I erst  
 Hither descended to the nether hell,  
 This rock was not yet fallen. But past doubt,  
 (If well I mark) not long ere He arrived<sup>2</sup>,  
 Who carried off from Dis the mighty spoil  
 Of the highest circle, then through all its bounds  
 Such trembling seized the deep concave and foul,  
 I thought the universe was thrill'd with love,  
 Whereby, there are who deem, the world hath oft  
 Been into chaos turn'd<sup>3</sup> : and in that point,  
 Here, and elsewhere, that old rock toppled down.  
 But fix thine eyes beneath : the river of blood<sup>4</sup>  
 Approaches, in the which all those are steep'd,  
 Who have by violence injured." O blind lust !  
 O foolish wrath ! who so dost goad us on  
 In the brief life, and in the eternal then  
 Thus miserably o'erwhelm us. I beheld  
 An ample foss, that in a bow was bent,  
 As circling all the plain ; for so my guide  
 Had told. Between it and the rampart's base,  
 On trail ran Centaurs, with keen arrows arm'd,  
 As to the chase they on the earth were wont.  
 At seeing us descend they each one stood ;  
 And issuing from the troop, three sped with bows

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<sup>1</sup> *To weight.*] — Incumbent on the dusky air  
 That felt unusual weight. *Milton, P. L. b. i. 227.*

• *He arrived.*] Our Saviour, who, according to Dante, when he ascended from hell, carried with him the souls of the Patriarchs, and of other just men, out of the first circle. See Canto iv. <sup>3</sup> *Been into chaos turn'd.*] This opinion is attributed to Empedocles. <sup>4</sup> *The river of blood.*] Deinde vidi locum (Qu. lacum?) magnum totum, ut mihi videbatur, plenum sanguine. Sed dixit mihi Apostolus, sed non sanguis, sed ignis est ad concremandos homicidas, et odiosos deputatus. Hanc tamen similitudinem propter sanguinis effusionem retinet. *Alberici Visio*, § 7

And missile weapons chosen first ; of whom  
 One cried from far : “ Say, to what pain ye come  
 Condemn’d, who down this steep have journey’d. Speak  
 From whence ye stand, or else the bow I draw.”

To whom my guide : “ Our answer shall be made  
 To Chiron, there, when nearer him we come.  
 Ill was thy mind, thus ever quick and rash.”  
 Then me he touch’d, and spake : “ Nessus is this,  
 Who for the fair Deïanira died,  
 And wrought himself revenge<sup>1</sup> for his own fate.  
 He in the midst, that on his breast looks down,  
 Is the great Chiron who Achilles nursed ;  
 That other, Pholus, prone to wrath.” Around  
 The foss these go by thousands, aiming shafts  
 At whatsoever spirit dares emerge<sup>2</sup>  
 From out the blood, more than his guilt allows.

We to those beasts, that rapid strode along,  
 Drew near ; when Chiron took an arrow forth,  
 And with the notch push’d back his shaggy beard  
 To the cheek-bone, then, his great mouth to view  
 Exposing, to his fellows thus exclaim’d :  
 “ Are ye aware, that he who comes behind  
 Moves what he touches ? The feet of the dead  
 Are not so wont.” My trusty guide, who now  
 Stood near his breast, where the two natures join,  
 Thus made reply : “ He is indeed alive,  
 And solitary so must needs by me  
 Be shown the gloomy vale, thereto induced  
 By strict necessity, not by delight.  
 She left her joyful harpings in the sky,  
 Who this new office to my care consign’d.  
 He is no robber, no dark spirit I.  
 But by that virtue, which empowers my step

---

<sup>1</sup> *And wrought himself revenge.*] Nessus, when dying by the hand of Hercules, charged Deïanira to preserve the gore from his wound ; for that if the affections of Hercules should at any time be estranged from her, it would act as a charm, and recal them. Deïanira had occasion to try the experiment ; and the venom acting, as Nessus had intended, caused Hercules to expire in torments. See the *Trachiniae* of Sophocles. <sup>2</sup> *Emerge.*] Multos in eis vidi usque ad talos demergi, alios usque ad genua, vel femora, alios usque ad pectus juxta peccati vidi modum : alios vero qui majoris criminis noxa tenebantur in ipsis summitatibus supersedere conspexi. *Alberici Visio*, § 3.



To tread so wild a path, grant us, I pray,  
 One of thy band, whom we may trust secure,  
 Who to the ford may lead us, and convey  
 Across, him mounted on his back; for he  
 Is not a spirit that may walk the air."

Then on his right breast turning, Chiron thus  
 To Nessus<sup>1</sup> spake: "Return, and be their guide.  
 And if ye chance to cross another troop,  
 Command them keep aloof." Onward we moved,  
 The faithful escort by our side, along  
 The border of the crimson-seething flood,  
 Whence, from those steep'd within, loud shrieks arose.

Some there I mark'd, as high as to their brow  
 Immersed, of whom the mighty Centaur thus:  
 "These are the souls of tyrants, who were given  
 To blood and rapine. Here they wail aloud  
 Their merciless wrongs. Here Alexander dwells,  
 And Dionysius fell, who many a year  
 Of woe wrought for fair Sicily. That brow,  
 Whereon the hair so jetty clustering hangs,  
 Is Azzolino<sup>2</sup>; that with flaxen locks  
 Obizzo<sup>3</sup> of Este, in the world destroy'd  
 By his foul step-son." To the bard revered  
 I turn'd me round, and thus he spake: "Let him

<sup>1</sup> Nessus.] Our Poet was probably induced, by the following line in Ovid, to assign to Nessus the task of conducting them over the ford:

Nessus adit membrisque valens scitusque vadorum. *Metam.* l. ix  
 And Ovid's authority was Sophocles, who says of this Centaur—

"Ὅς τὸν βαθύρρουν ποταμὸν Εὐήνον βροτοῦς

Μισθοῦ πόρενε χερσὶν οὔτε πομπίμοις

Κώπαις ἐρέσσων, οὔτε λαίφεσιν νεώς. *Trach.* 570.

He in his arms, across Evenus' stream

Deep-flowing, bore the passenger for hire,

Without or sail or billow-cleaving oar.

<sup>2</sup> Azzolino.] Azzolino, or Ezzolino di Romano, a most cruel tyrant in the Marca Trivigiana, Lord of Padua, Vicenza, Verona, and Brescia, who died in 1260. His atrocities form the subject of a Latin tragedy, called *Eccerinis*, by Albertino Mussato, of Padua, the contemporary of Dante, and the most elegant writer of Latin verse of that age. See also the *Paradise*, Canto ix. Berni, *Orl. Inn. lib. ii. c. xxv. st. 50.* Ariosto, *Orl. Fur. c. iii. st. 33.* and Tassoni, *Secchia Rapita, c. viii. st. 11.*

<sup>3</sup> Obizzo of Este.] Marquis of Ferrara and of the Marca d'Ancona, was murdered by his own son (whom, for that most unnatural act, Dante calls his step-son) for the sake of the treasures which his rapacity had amassed. See Ariosto, *Orl. Fur. c. iii. st. 32.* He died in 1293, according to Gibbon, *Ant. of the House of Brunswick*, *Posth. Works, v. ii. 4to.*



Be to thee now first leader, me but next  
 To him in rank." Then further on a space  
 The Centaur paused, near some, who at the throat  
 Were extant from the wave; and, showing us  
 A spirit by itself apart retired,  
 Exclaim'd: "He<sup>1</sup> in God's bosom smote the heart,  
 Which yet is honour'd on the bank of Thames."

A race I next espied who held the head,  
 And even all the bust, above the stream.  
 'Midst these I many a face remember'd well.  
 Thus shallow more and more the blood became,  
 So that at last it but imbrued the feet;  
 And there our passage lay athwart the foss.

"As ever on this side the boiling wave  
 Thou seest diminishing," the Centaur said,  
 "So on the other, be thou well assured,  
 It lower still and lower sinks its bed,  
 Till in that part it re-uniting join,  
 Where 'tis the lot of tyranny to mourn.  
 There Heaven's stern justice lays chastising hand  
 On Attila, who was the scourge of earth,  
 On Sextus and on Pyrrhus<sup>2</sup>, and extracts  
 Tears ever by the seething flood unlock'd  
 From the Rinieri, of Corneto this,

<sup>1</sup> *He.*] "Henrie, the brother of this Edmund, and son to the foresaid king of Almaine, (Richard, brother of Henry III. of England) as he returned from Affrike, where he had been with Prince Edward, was slain at Viterbo in Italy (whither he was come about business which he had to do with the Pope) by the hand of Guy de Montfort, the son of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, in revenge of the same Simon's death. The murder was committed afore the high altar, as the same Henrie kneeled there to hear divine service." A. D. 1272. *Holinshed's Chron.* p. 275. See also Giov. Villani, *Hist. lib. vii. c. xl.* where it is said "that the heart of Henry was put into a golden cup, and placed on a pillar at London bridge over the river Thames, for a memorial to the English of the said outrage." Lombardi suggests that "*ancor si cola*" in the text may mean, not that "the heart was still honoured," but that it was put into a perforated cup in order that the blood dripping from it might excite the spectators to revenge. This is surely too improbable.

Un poco prima dove più si stava  
 Sicuro Enrico, il conte di Monforte  
 L'alma del corpo col coltel gli cava.

*Fazio degli Uberti, Dittamondo, l. ii. cap. xxix.*

<sup>2</sup> *On Sextus and on Pyrrhus.*] Sextus, either the son of Tarquin the Proud, or of Pompey the Great; and Pyrrhus king of Epirus.

Pazzo the other named<sup>1</sup>, who fill'd the ways  
 With violence and war." This said, he turn'd.  
 And quitting us, alone repass'd the ford.

~~~~~  
 CANTO XIII.

—
 ARGUMENT.

Still in the seventh circle, Dante enters its second compartment, which contains both those who have done violence on their own persons and those who have violently consumed their goods; the first changed into rough and knotted trees whereon the harpies build their nests, the latter chased and torn by black female mastiffs. Among the former, Piero delle Vigne is one who tells him the cause of his having committed suicide, and moreover in what manner the souls are transformed into those trunks. Of the latter crew, he recognises Lano, a Siennese, and Giacomo, a Paduan: and lastly, a Florentine, who had hung himself from his own roof, speaks to him of the calamities of his countrymen.

ERE Nessus yet had reach'd the other bank,
 We enter'd on a forest², where no track
 Of steps had worn a way. Not verdant there
 The foliage, but of dusky hue; not light
 The boughs and tapering, but with knares deform'd
 And matted thick: fruits there were none, but thorns
 Instead, with venom fill'd. Less sharp than these,
 Less intricate the brakes, wherein abide
 Those animals, that hate the cultured fields,
 Betwixt Corneto and Cecina's stream³.

Here the brute Harpies make their nest, the same
 Who from the Strophades⁴ the Trojan band
 Drove with dire boding of their future woe.
 Broad are their pennons⁵, of the human form

¹ ——— *The Rinieri, of Corneto this,
 Pazzo the other named.*———]

Two noted marauders, by whose depredations the public ways in Italy were infested. The latter was of the noble family of Pazzi in Florence.

² *A forest.*] Inde in aliam vallem nimis terribiliorem deveni plenam subtilissimis arboribus in modum hastarum sexaginta brachiorum longitudinem habentibus, quarum omnium capita, ac si sudes acutissima erant, et spinosa. *Alberici Visio*, § 4. ³ *Betwixt Corneto and Cecina's stream.*] A wild and woody tract of country, abounding in deer, goats, and wild boars. Cecina is a river not far to the south of Leghorn; Corneto, a small city on the same coast, in the patrimony of the church.

⁴ *The Strophades.*] See Virg. *Æn.* lib. iii. 210.

⁵ *Broad are their pennons.*]

Virginei volucrum vultus, fœdissima ventris

Their neck and countenance, arm'd with talons keen
The feet, and the huge belly fledge with wings.
These sit and wail on the drear mystic wood.

The kind instructor in these words began :
“ Ere further thou proceed, know thou art now
I' th' second round, and shalt be, till thou come
Upon the horrid sand : look therefore well
Around thee, and such things thou shalt behold,
As would my speech discredit.” On all sides
I heard sad plainings breathe, and none could see
From whom they might have issued. In amaze
Fast bound I stood. He, as it seem'd, believed
That I had thought so many voices came
From some amid those thickets close conceal'd,
And thus his speech resumed : “ If thou lop off
A single twig from one of those ill plants,
The thought thou hast conceived shall vanish quite.”

Thereat a little stretching forth my hand,
From a great wilding gather'd I¹ a branch, [me ?'
And straight the trunk exclaim'd ; “ Why pluck'st thou
Then, as the dark blood trickled down its side,
These words it added : “ Wherefore tear'st me thus ?
Is there no touch of mercy in thy breast ?
Men once were we, that now are rooted here.
Thy hand might well have spared us, had we been
The souls of serpents.” As a brand yet green,
That burning at one end from the other sends
A groaning sound, and hisses with the wind
That forces out its way, so burst at once
Forth from the broken splinter words and blood.

I, letting fall the bough, remain'd as one
Assail'd by terror ; and the sage replied :
“ If he, O injured spirit ! could have believed
What he hath seen but in my verse described²,

Proluvies, unœque manus et pallida semper

Ora fame.—

Virg. Æn. lib. iii. 216.

¹ *Gather'd I.]* So Frezzi.

A quelle frasche stesi su la mano,

E d'una vetta un ramuscel ne colsi ;

Allora ella gridò : oimè, fa piano,

E sangue vivo uscì, ond' io lo tolsi. *Il Quadrir. lib. i. cap. 4*

² *In my verse described.]* The commentators explain this, “ If he could

He never against thee had stretch'd his hand.
 But I, because the thing surpass'd belief,
 Prompted him to this deed, which even now
 Myself I rue. But tell me, who thou wast;
 That, for this wrong to do thee some amends,
 In the upper world (for thither to return
 Is granted him) thy fame he may revive."
 "That pleasant word of thine¹," the trunk replied,
 "Hath so inveigled me, that I from speech
 Cannot refrain, wherein if I indulge
 A little longer, in the snare detain'd,
 Count it not grievous. I it was², who held
 Both keys to Frederick's heart, and turn'd the wards,
 Opening and shutting, with a skill so sweet,
 That besides me, into his inmost breast
 Scarce any other could admittance find.
 The faith I bore to my high charge was such,
 It cost me the life-blood that warm'd my veins.
 The harlot³, who ne'er turn'd her gloating eyes
 From Cæsar's household, common vice and pest
 Of courts, 'gainst me inflamed the minds of all;

have believed, in consequence of my assurances alone, that of which he hath now had ocular proof, he would not have stretched forth his hand against thee." But I am of opinion that Dante makes Virgil allude to his own story of Polydorus, in the third book of the *Æneid*. ¹ *That pleasant word of thine.*] "Since you have inveigled me to speak by holding forth so gratifying an expectation, let it not displease you if I am as it were detained in the snare you have spread for me, so as to be somewhat prolix in my answer." ² *I it was.*] Piero delle Vigne, a native of Capua, who from a low condition raised himself, by his eloquence and legal knowledge, to the office of Chancellor to the Emperor Frederick II.; whose confidence in him was such, that his influence in the empire became unbounded. The courtiers, envious of his exalted situation, contrived, by means of forged letters, to make Frederick believe that he held a secret and traitorous intercourse with the Pope, who was then at enmity with the Emperor. In consequence of this supposed crime, he was cruelly condemned, by his too credulous sovereign, to lose his eyes; and being driven to despair by his unmerited calamity and disgrace, he put an end to his life by dashing out his brains against the walls of a church, in the year 1245. Both Frederick and Piero delle Vigne composed verses in the Sicilian dialect, which are now extant. A canzone by each of them may be seen in the ninth book of the Sonetti and Canzoni di diversi Autori Toscani, published by the Giunti in 1527. See further the note on Purg. Canto iii. 110. ³ *The harlot.*] Envy. Chaucer alludes to this, in the Prologue to the *Legende of Good Women*:

Envie is lavender to the court alway,
 For she ne parteth neither night ne day
 Out of the house of Cesar: thus saith Dant.

And to Augustus they so spread the flame,
 That my glad honours changed to bitter woes.
 My soul, disdainful and disgusted, sought
 Refuge in death from scorn, and I became,
 Just as I was, unjust toward myself.
 By the new roots, which fix this stem, I swear,
 That never faith I broke to my liege lord,
 Who merited such honour ; and of you,
 If any to the world indeed return,
 Clear he from wrong my memory, that lies
 Yet prostrate under envy's cruel blow."

First somewhat pausing, till the mournful words
 Were ended, then to me the bard began :
 "Lose not the time ; but speak, and of him ask,
 If more thou wish to learn." Whence I replied :
 "Question thou him again of whatsoe'er
 Will, as thou think'st, content me ; for no power
 Have I to ask, such pity is at my heart."

He thus resumed : "So may he do for thee
 Freely what thou entreatest, as thou yet
 Be pleased, imprison'd spirit ! to declare,
 How in these gnarled joints the soul is tied ;
 And whether any ever from such frame
 Be loosen'd, if thou canst, that also tell."

Thereat the trunk breathed hard, and the wind soon
 Changed into sounds articulate like these :
 "Briefly ye shall be answer'd. When departs
 The fierce soul from the body, by itself
 Thence torn asunder, to the seventh gulf
 By Minos doom'd, into the wood it falls,
 No place assign'd, but wheresoever chance
 Hurls it ; there sprouting, as a grain of spelt,
 It rises to a sapling, growing thence
 A savage plant. The Harpies, on its leaves
 Then feeding, cause both pain, and for the pain
 A vent to grief. We, as the rest, shall come
 For our own spoils, yet not so that with them
 We may again be clad ; for what a man
 Takes from himself it is not just he have.
 Here we perforce shall drag them ; and throughout
 The dismal glade our bodies shall be hung,

Each on the wild thorn of his wretched shade."

Attentive yet to listen to the trunk
We stood, expecting further speech, when us
A noise surprised; as when a man perceives
The wild boar and the hunt approach his place
Of station'd watch, who of the beasts and boughs
Loud rustling round him hears. And lo! there came
Two naked, torn with briers, in headlong flight,
That they before them broke each fan o'th' wood¹.
"Haste now," the foremost cried, "now haste thee, death!"
The other, as seem'd, impatient of delay,
Exclaiming, "Lano²! not so bent for speed
Thy sinews, in the lists of Toppo's field."
And then, for that perchance no longer breath
Sufficed him, of himself and of a bush
One group he made. Behind them was the wood
Full of black female mastiffs, gaunt and fleet,
As greyhounds that have newly slipt the leash.
On him, who squatted down, they stuck their fangs,
And having rent him piecemeal bore away
The tortured limbs. My guide then seized my hand,
And led me to the thicket, which in vain
Mourn'd through its bleeding wounds: "O Giacomo
Of Sant' Andrea³! what avails it thee,"
It cried, "that of me thou hast made thy screen?
For thy ill life, what blame on me recoils?"

When o'er it he had paused, my master spake:
"Say who wast thou, that at so many points
Breathest out with blood thy lamentable speech?"

He answer'd: "O ye spirits! arrived in time
To spy the shameful havoc that from me

¹ *Each fan o' th' wood.*] Hence perhaps Milton:

Leaves and fuming rills, Aurora's fan. *P. L.* b. v. 6
Some have translated "rosta" "impediment," instead of "fan."

² *Lano.*] Lano, a Siennese, who being reduced by prodigality to a state
or extreme want, found his existence no longer supportable; and having
been sent by his countrymen on a military expedition to assist the Floren-
tines against the Aretini, took that opportunity of exposing himself to cer-
tain death, in the engagement which took place at Toppo near Arezzo. See
G. Villani, *Hist. lib.* vii. c. cxix.

³ ——— *O Giacomo*

Of Sant' Andrea?] Jacopo da Sant' Andrea, a Paduan, who, having
wasted his property in the most wanton acts of profusion, killed himself in
despair.

My leaves hath sever'd thus, gather them up,
 And at the foot of their sad parent-tree
 Carefully lay them. In that city¹ I dwelt,
 Who for the Baptist her first patron changed,
 Whence he for this shall cease not with his art
 To work her woe: and if there still remain'd not
 On Arno's passage some faint glimpse of him,
 Those citizens, who rear'd once more her walls
 Upon the ashes left by Attila,
 Had labour'd without profit of their toil.
 I slung the fatal noose² from my own roof."

CANTO XIV.

ARGUMENT.

They arrive at the beginning of the third of those compartments into which this seventh circle is divided. It is a plain of dry and hot sand, where three kinds of violence are punished; namely, against God, against Nature, and against Art; and those who have thus sinned, are tormented by flakes of fire, which are eternally showering down upon them. Among the violent against God is found Capaneus, whose blasphemies they hear. Next, turning to the left along the forest of self-slayers, and having journeyed a little onwards, they meet with a streamlet of blood that issues from the forest and traverses the sandy plain. Here Virgil speaks to our Poet of a huge ancient statue that stands within Mount Ida in Crete, from a fissure in which statue there is a dripping of tears, from which the said streamlet, together with the three other infernal rivers, are formed.

SOON as the charity of native land
 Wrought in my bosom, I the scatter'd leaves
 Collected, and to him restored, who now
 Was hoarse with utterance. To the limit thence
 We came, which from the third the second round

¹ *In that city.*] "I was an inhabitant of Florence, that city which changed her first patron Mars for St. John the Baptist; for which reason the vengeance of the deity thus slighted will never be appeased; and if some remains of his statue were not still visible on the bridge over the Arno, she would have been already leveled to the ground; and thus the citizens, who raised her again from the ashes to which Attila had reduced her, would have laboured in vain." See *Paradise*, Canto xvi. 44. The relic of antiquity, to which the superstition of Florence attached so high an importance, was carried away by a flood, that destroyed the bridge on which it stood, in the year 1337, but without the ill effects that were apprehended from the loss of their fancied Palladium. ² *I slung the fatal noose.*] We are not informed who this suicide was; some calling him Rocco de' Mozzi, and others Lotto degli Agli.

Divides, and where of justice is display'd
 Contrivance horrible. Things then first seen
 Clearlier to manifest, I tell how next
 A plain we reach'd, that from its steril bed
 Each plant repell'd. The mournful wood waves round
 Its garland on all sides, as round the wood
 Spreads the sad foss. There, on the very edge,
 Our steps we stay'd. It was an area wide
 Of arid sand and thick, resembling most
 The soil that erst by Cato's foot¹ was trod.

Vengeance of heaven! Oh! how shouldst thou be
 By all, who read what here mine eyes beheld. [fear'd

Of naked spirits many a flock I saw,
 All weeping piteously, to different laws
 Subjected; for on the earth some lay supine,
 Some crouching close were seated, others paced
 Incessantly around; the latter tribe
 More numerous, those fewer who beneath
 The torment lay, but louder in their grief.

O'er all the sand fell slowly wafting down
 Dilated flakes of fire², as flakes of snow
 On Alpine summit, when the wind is hush'd.
 As, in the torrid Indian clime³, the son
 Of Ammon saw, upon his warrior band
 Descending, solid flames, that to the ground
 Came down; whence he bethought him with his troop
 To trample on the soil; for easier thus
 The vapour was extinguish'd, while alone:
 So fell the eternal fiery flood, wherewith
 The marle glow'd underneath, as under stove⁴
 The viands, doubly to augment the pain.
 Unceasing was the play of wretched hands,
 Now this, now that way glancing, to shake off
 The heat, still falling fresh. I thus began:

¹ *By Cato's foot.*] See Lucan, Phars. lib. ix.

² *Dilated flakes of fire.*] Compare Tasso, G. L. c. x. st. 61.

Al fin giungemmo al loco, ove già seese
 Fiamma del cielo in dilatate falde,
 E di natura vendicò l'offese
 Sovra la gente in mal oprar si salde.

³ *As, in the torrid Indian clime.*] Landino refers to Albertus Magnus for
 the circumstance here alluded to. ⁴ *As under stove.*] So Frezzi:

Si come l' esca al foco del focile. Lib. i. cap. 17

“Instructor ! thou who all things overcomest,
 Except the hardy demons that rush’d forth
 To stop our entrance at the gate, say who
 Is yon huge spirit, that, as seems, heeds not
 The burning, but lies writhen in proud scorn,
 As by the sultry tempest immatured ?”

Straight he himself, who was aware I ask’d
 My guide of him, exclaim’d : “ Such as I was
 When living, dead such now I am. If Jove
 Weary his workman out, from whom in ire
 He snatch’d the lightnings, that at my last day
 Transfix’d me ; if the rest he weary out,
 At their black smithy labouring by turns,
 In Mongibello¹, while he cries aloud,
 ‘ Help, help, good Mulciber !’ as erst he cried
 In the Phlegræan warfare ; and the bolts
 Launch he, full aim’d at me, with all his might ;
 He never should enjoy a sweet revenge.”

Then thus my guide, in accent higher raised
 Than I before had heard him : “ Capaneus !
 Thou art more punish’d, in that this thy pride
 Lives yet unquench’d : no torment, save thy rage,
 Were to thy fury pain proportion’d full.”

Next turning round to me, with milder lip
 He spake : “ This of the seven kings was one²,
 Who girt the Theban walls with siege, and held,
 As still he seems to hold, God in disdain,
 And sets his high omnipotence at nought.
 But, as I told him, his despitful mood
 Is ornament well suits the breast that wears it.
 Follow me now ; and look thou set not yet
 Thy foot in the hot sand, but to the wood
 Keep ever close.” Silently on we pass’d
 To where there gushes from the forest’s bound

¹ *In Mongibello.*] More hot than Ætn’ or flaming Mongibell.

Spenser, F. Q. b. ii. c. ix. st. 29.

Siccome alla fucina in Mongibello Batte folgori e foco col martello,
 Fabrica tuono il demonio Vulcano, E con esso i suoi fabri in ogni mano

Berni, Orl. Inn. lib. i. c. xvi. st. 21.

See Virg. *Æn. lib. viii. 416.* It would be endless to refer to parallel passages in the Greek writers.

² *This of the seven kings was one.*] Compare *Æsch. Seven Chiefs, 425*
Euripides, Phœn. 1179. and Statius, Theb. lib. x. 821

A little brook, whose crimson'd wave yet lifts
 My hair with horror. As the rill, that runs
 From Bulicame¹, to be portion'd out
 Among the sinful women; so ran this
 Down through the sand; its bottom and each bank
 Stone-built, and either margin at its side,
 Whereon I straight perceived our passage lay.

"Of all that I have shown thee, since that gate
 We enter'd first, whose threshold is to none
 Denied, nought else so worthy of regard,
 As is this river, has thine eye discern'd,
 O'er which the flaming volley all is quench'd."

So spake my guide; and I him thence besought,
 That having given me appetite to know,
 The food he too would give, that hunger craved.

"In midst of ocean," forthwith he began,
 "A desolate country lies, which Crete is named;
 Under whose monarch², in old times, the world
 Lived pure and chaste. A mountain rises there,
 Call'd Ida, joyous once with leaves and streams,
 Deserted now like a forbidden thing.
 It was the spot which Rhea, Saturn's spouse,
 Chose for the secret cradle of her son;
 And better to conceal him, drown'd in shouts
 His infant cries. Within the mount, upright
 An ancient form there stands, and huge, that turns
 His shoulders towards Damiata; and at Rome,
 As in his mirror, looks. Of finest gold
 His head³ is shaped, pure silver are the breast
 And arms, thence to the middle is of brass,

¹ *Bulicame.*] A warm medicinal spring near Viterbo; the waters of which, as Landino and Vellutelli affirm, passed by a place of ill fame. Venturi, with less probability, conjectures that Dante would imply that it was the scene of much licentious merriment among those who frequented its baths.

² *Under whose monarch.*]

Credo pudicitiam Saturno rege moratam
 In terris.——

Juv. Satir. vi.

In Saturn's reign, at Nature's early birth,
 There was a thing call'd chastity on earth. *Dryden.*

³ *His head.*] This is imitated by Frezzi, in the *Quadriregio*, lib. iv. cap. 14:
 La statua grande vidi in un gran piano, &c.

"This image's head was of fine gold, his breast and his arms of silver, his belly and his thighs of brass: His legs of iron, his feet part of iron and part of clay." *Daniel*, ch. ii. 32, 33.

And downward all beneath well-temper'd steel,
 Save the right foot of potter's clay, on which
 Than on the other more erect he stands.
 Each part, except the gold, is rent throughout ;
 And from the fissure tears distil, which join'd
 Penetrate to that cave. They in their course,
 'Thus far precipitated down the rock,
 Form Acheron, and Styx, and Phlegethon ;
 Then by this straiten'd channel passing hence
 Beneath, e'en to the lowest depth of all,
 Form there Cocytus, of whose lake (thyself
 Shalt see it) I here give thee no account."

Then I to him : "If from our world this sluice
 Be thus derived ; wherefore to us but now
 Appears it at this edge ?" He straight replied :
 "The place, thou know'st, is round : and though great part
 Thou have already past, still to the left
 Descending to the nethermost, not yet
 Hast thou the circuit made of the whole orb.
 Wherefore, if aught of new to us appear,
 It needs not bring up wonder in thy looks."

Then I again inquired : "Where flow the streams
 Of Phlegethon and Lethe ? for of one
 Thou tell'st not ; and the other, of that shower,
 Thou say'st, is form'd." He answer thus return'd :
 "Doubtless thy questions all well pleased I hear.
 Yet the red seething wave¹ might have resolved
 One thou proposest. Lethe thou shalt see,
 But not within this hollow, in the place
 Whither², to lave themselves, the spirits go,
 Whose blame hath been by penitence removed."
 He added : "Time is now we quit the wood.
 Look thou my steps pursue : the margins give
 Safe passage, unimpeded by the flames ;
 For over them all vapour is extinct."

The red seething wave.] This he might have known was Phlegethon
Whither.] On the other side of Purgatory.

CANTO XV.

ARGUMENT.

Taking their way upon one of the mounds by which the streamlet, spoken of in the last Canto, was embanked, and having gone so far that they could no longer have discerned the forest if they had turned round to look for it, they meet a troop of spirits that come along the sand by the side of the pier. These are they who have done violence to Nature; and amongst them Dante distinguishes Brunetto Latini, who had been formerly his master; with whom, turning a little backward, he holds a discourse which occupies the remainder of this Canto.

ONE of the solid margins bears us now
 Envelop'd in the mist, that, from the stream
 Arising, hovers o'er, and saves from fire
 Both piers and water. As the Flemings rear
 Their mound, 'twixt Ghent and Bruges, to chase back
 The ocean, fearing his tumultuous tide
 That drives toward them; or the Paduans theirs
 Along the Brenta, to defend their towns
 And castles, ere the genial warmth be felt
 On Chiarentana's¹ top; such were the mounds,
 So framed, though not in height or bulk to these
 Made equal, by the master, whosoe'er
 He was, that raised them here. We from the wood
 Were now so far removed, that turning round
 I might not have discern'd it, when we met
 A troop of spirits, who came beside the pier.
 They each one eyed us, as at eventide
 One eyes another under a new moon;
 And toward us sharpen'd their sight, as keen
 As an old tailor at his needle's eye².

Thus narrowly explored by all the tribe,
 I was agnized of one, who by the skirt
 Caught me, and cried, "What wonder have we here?"

¹ *Chiarentana*.] A part of the Alps where the Brenta rises; which river is much swoln as soon as the snow begins to dissolve on the mountains.

² *As an old tailor at his needle's eye*.] In Fazio degli Uberti's *Dittamondo*, l. iv. cap. 4. the tailor is introduced in a simile scarcely less picturesque:

Perchè tanto mi stringe a questo punto
 La lunga tema, ch' io fo come il sarto
 Che quando affretta spesso passa il punto

And I, when he to me outstretch'd his arm,
Intently fix'd my ken on his parch'd looks,
That, although smirch'd with fire, they hinder'd not
But I remember'd him ; and towards his face
My hand inclining, answer'd : " Ser Brunetto !

: *Brunetto*.] " Ser Brunetto, a Florentine, the secretary or chancellor of the city, and Dante's preceptor, hath left us a work so little read, that both the subject of it and the language of it have been mistaken. It is in the French spoken in the reign of St. Louis, under the title of *Tresor* ; and contains a species of philosophical course of lectures divided into theory and practice, or, as he expresses it, *un enchaussement des choses divines et humaines*," &c. Sir R. Clayton's Translation of Tenhove's Memoirs of the Medici, vol. i. ch. ii. p. 104. The *Tresor* has never been printed in the original language. There is a fine manuscript of it in the British Museum, with an illuminated portrait of Brunetto in his study, prefixed. Mus. Brit. MSS. 17. E. 1. *Tesor*. It is divided into four books: the first, on Cosmogony and Theology; the second, a translation of Aristotle's Ethics; the third, on Virtues and Vices; the fourth, on Rhetoric. For an interesting memoir relating to this work, see Hist. de l'Acad. des Inscriptions, tom. vii. 296. His *Tesoretto*, one of the earliest productions of Italian poetry, is a curious work, not unlike the writings of Chaucer in style and numbers; though Bembo remarks, that his pupil, however largely he had stolen from it, could not have much enriched himself. As it is perhaps but little known, I will here add a slight sketch of it. Brunetto describes himself as returning from an embassy to the King of Spain, on which he had been sent by the Guelph party from Florence. On the plain of Roncesvalles he meets a scholar on a bay mule—

— un scolaio

Sur un muletto baio.

—who tells him that the Guelfi are driven out of the city with great loss. Struck with grief at these mournful tidings, and musing with his head bent downwards, he loses his road, and wanders into a wood. Here Nature, whose figure is described with sublimity, appears, and discloses to him the secrets of her operations. After this, he wanders into a desert—

Deh che paese fiero

Trovai in quella parte.

Che s'io sapessi d'arte

Quivi mi bisognava.

Che quanto più mirava

Più mi pareva selvaggio.

Quivi non a viaggio,

Quivi non a persone,

Quivi non a magione.

Non bestia non uccello,

Non fiume non ruscello,

Non formica non mosca,

Non cosa ch'io conosca.

Ed io pensando forte

Dottai ben della morte,

E non è meraviglia,

Che ben trecento miglia,

Durava d'ogni lato,

Quel paese smagato.

There a scholar I espied

On a bay mule that did ride.

Well-away! what fearful ground

In that savage part I found.

If of art I aught could ken,

Well behaved me use it then.

More I look'd, the more I deem'd

That it wild and desert seem'd.

Not a road was there in sight.

Not a house, and not a wight;

Not a bird, and not a brute,

Not a rill, and not a root;

Not an emmet, not a fly,

Not a thing I mote descry

Sore I doubted therewithal

Whether death would me befall;

Nor was wonder, for around

Full three hundred miles of ground

Right across on every side

Lay the desert bare and wide.

And are ye here?" He thus to me: "My son!
Oh let it not displease thee, if Brunetto
Latini but a little space with thee
Turn back, and leave his fellows to proceed."

I thus to him replied: "Much as I can,
I thereto pray thee; and if thou be willing
That I here seat me with thee, I consent;
His leave, with whom I journey, first obtain'd."

"O son!" said he, "whoever of this throng
One instant stops, lies then a hundred years,
No fan to ventilate him, when the fire
Smites sorest. Pass thou therefore on. I close
Will at thy garments walk, and then rejoin

—and proceeds on his way, under the protection of a banner with which Nature had furnished him, till on the third day he finds himself in a pleasant champain, where are assembled many emperors, kings, and sages:

Un gran piano giacondo

Wide and far the champain lay,

Lo più gajo del mondo

None in all the earth so gay.

E lo più degnitoso.

It is the habitation of Virtue and her daughters, the four Cardinal Virtues Here Brunetto sees also Courtesy, Bounty, Loyalty, and Prowess, and hears the instructions they give to a knight, which occupy about a fourth part of the poem. Leaving this territory, he passes over valleys, mountains, woods, forests, and bridges, till he arrives in a beautiful valley covered with flowers on all sides, and the richest in the world; but which was continually shifting its appearance from a round figure to a square, from obscurity to light, and from populousness to solitude. This is the region of Pleasure, or Cupid, who is accompanied by four ladies, Love, Hope, Fear, and Desire. In one part of it he meets with Ovid, and is instructed by him how to conquer the passion of love, and to escape from that place. After his escape, he makes his confession to a friar, and then returns to the forest of visions; and, ascending a mountain, meets with Ptolemy, a venerable old man. Here the narrative breaks off. The poem ends, as it began, with an address to Rustico di Filippo, on whom he lavishes every sort of praise.

It has been observed, that Dante derived the idea of opening his poem by describing himself as lost in a wood, from the *Tesoretto* of his master. I know not whether it has been remarked, that the crime of usury is branded by both these poets as offensive to God and Nature:—

Un altro, che non cura

One, that holdeth not in mind

Di Dio ne di Natura,

Law of God or Nature's kind,

Si diventa usuriere.

Take him to usury.

—or that the sin for which Brunetto is condemned by his pupil is mentioned in his *Tesoretto* with great horror. But see what is said on this subject by Peticari, *Degli Scrittori del Trecento*, l. i. c. iv. Dante's twenty-fifth sonnet is a jocose one, addressed to Brunetto, of which a translation is inserted in the Life of Dante prefixed. He died in 1294. G. Villani sums up his account of him by saying, that he was himself a worldly man; but that he was the first to refine the Florentines from their grossness, and to instruct them in speaking properly and in conducting the affairs of the republic on principles of policy

My troop, who go mourning their endless doom."

I dared not from the path descend to tread
On equal ground with him, but held my head
Bent down, as one who walks in reverent guise.

"What chance or destiny," thus he began,
"Ere the last day, conducts thee here below?
And who is this that shows to thee the way?"

"There up aloft," I answer'd, "in the life
Serene, I wander'd in a valley lost,
Before mine age¹ had to its fulness reach'd.
But yester-morn I left it: then once more
Into that vale returning, him I met;
And by this path homeward he leads me back."

"If thou," he answer'd, "follow but thy star,
Thou canst not miss at last a glorious haven;
Unless in fairer days my judgment err'd.
And if my fate so early had not chanced,
Seeing the heavens thus bounteous to thee, I
Had gladly given thee comfort in thy work.
But that ungrateful and malignant race,
Who in old times came down from Fesole²,
Ay and still smack of their rough mountain-flint,
Will for thy good deeds show thee enmity.
Nor wonder; for amongst ill-savour'd crabs
It suits not the sweet fig-tree lay her fruit.
Old fame reports them in the world for blind³,
Covetous, envious, proud. Look to it well:
Take heed thou cleanse thee of their ways. For thee,
Thy fortune hath such honour in reserve,
That thou by either party shalt be craved
With hunger keen: but be the fresh herb far
From the goat's tooth. The herd of Fesole

¹ *Before mine age.*] On the whole, Vellutello's explanation of this is, I think, most satisfactory. He supposes it to mean, "before the appointed end of his life was arrived—before his days were accomplished." Lombardi, concluding that the fulness of age must be the same as "the midway of this our mortal life," (see Canto i. v. 1.) understands that he had lost himself in the wood before that time, and that he then only discovered his having gone astray.

² *Who in old times came down from Fesole.*] See G. Villani, Hist. lib. iv. cap. v. and Macchiav. Hist. of Flor. b. ii.

³ *Blind.*] It is said that the Florentines were thus called, in consequence of their having been deceived by a shallow artifice practised on them by the Pisans, in the year 1117. See G. Villani, lib. iv. cap. xxx.

May of themselves make litter, not touch the plant,
 If any such yet spring on their rank bed,
 In which the holy seed revives, transmitted
 From those true Romans, who still there remain'd,
 When it was made the nest of so much ill."

"Were all my wish fulfill'd," I straight replied,
 "Thou from the confines of man's nature yet
 Hadst not been driven forth; for in my mind
 Is fix'd, and now strikes full upon my heart,
 The dear, benign, paternal image, such
 As thine was, when so lately thou didst teach me
 The way for man to win eternity:
 And how I prized the lesson, it behoves,
 That, long as life endures, my tongue should speak.
 What of my fate thou tell'st, that write I down;
 And, with another text¹ to comment on,
 For her I keep it, the celestial dame,
 Who will know all, if I to her arrive.
 This only would I have thee clearly note:
 That, so my conscience have no plea against me,
 Do Fortune as she list, I stand prepared.
 Not new or strange such earnest to mine ear.
 Speed Fortune then her wheel, as likes her best;
 The clown his mattock; all things have their course."

Thereat my sapient guide upon his right
 Turn'd himself back, then looked at me, and spake:
 "He listens to good purpose who takes note."

I not the less still on my way proceed,
 Discouraging with Brunetto, and inquire
 Who are most known and chief among his tribe.

"To know of some is well;" he thus replied,
 "But of the rest silence may best beseem.
 Time would not serve us for report so long.
 In brief I tell thee, that all these were clerks,
 Men of great learning and no less renown,
 By one same sin polluted in the world.
 With them is Priscian²; and Accorso's son,

¹ *With another text.*] He refers to the prediction of Farinata, in Canto x.

² *Priscian.*] There is no reason to believe, as the commentators observe, that the grammarian of this name was stained with the vice imputed to him; and we must therefore suppose that Dante puts the individual for the species,

Francesco¹, herds among that wretched throng :
 And, if the wish of so impure a blotch
 Possess'd thee, him² thou also mightst have seen,
 Who by the servants' servant³ was transferr'd
 From Arno's seat to Bacchiglione, where
 His ill-strain'd nerves he left. I more would add,
 But must from further speech and onward way
 Alike desist ; for yonder I behold
 A mist new-risen on the sandy plain.
 A company, with whom I may not sort,
 Approaches. I commend my *Treasure* to thee⁴,
 Wherein I yet survive ; my sole request."

This said, he turn'd, and seem'd as one of those
 Who o'er Verona's champain try their speed
 For the green mantle ; and of them he seem'd,
 Not he who loses but who gains the prize.

CANTO XVI.

ARGUMENT.

Journeying along the pier, which crosses the sand, they are now so near the end of it as to hear the noise of the stream falling into the eighth circle, when they meet the spirits of three military men ; who judging Dante, from his dress, to be a countryman of theirs, entreat him to stop. He complies, and speaks with them. The two Poets then reach the place

and implies the frequency of the crime among those who abused the opportunities which the education of youth afforded them, to so abominable a purpose. ¹ *Francesco*.] Accorso, a Florentine, interpreted the Roman law at Bologna, and died in 1229, at the age of 78. His authority was so great as to exceed that of all the other interpreters, so that Cino da Pistoia termed him the Idol of Advocates. His sepulchre, and that of his son Francesco here spoken of, is at Bologna, with this short epitaph : "Sepulcrum Accursii Glossatoris et Francisci ejus Filii." See Guidi Panziroli, *De Claris Legum Interpretibus*, lib. ii. cap. xxix. Lips. 4to. 1721. ² *Him*.] Andrea de' Mozzi, who, that his scandalous life might be less exposed to observation, was translated either by Nicolas III. or Boniface VIII. from the see of Florence to that of Vicenza, through which passes the river Bacchiglione. At the latter of these places he died.

³ *The servants' servant*.] Servo de' servi. So Ariosto, Sat. iii.

Degli servi

Io sia il gran servo.

⁴ *I commend my Treasure to thee*.] Brunetto's great work, the *Treasure*
 Sieti raccomandato 'l mio Tesoro.

So Giusto de' Conti, in his *Bella Mano*, Son. "Occhi :"
 Siavi raccomandato il mio Tesoro.

where the water descends, being the termination of this third compartment in the seventh circle; and here Virgil having thrown down into the hollow a cord, wherewith Dante was girt, they behold at that signal a monstrous and horrible figure come swimming up to them.

Now came I where the water's din was heard,
As down it fell into the other round,
Resounding like the hum of swarming bees :
When forth together issued from a troop,
That pass'd beneath the fierce tormenting storm,
Three spirits, running swift. They towards us came,
And each one cried aloud, " Oh ! do thou stay,
Whom, by the fashion of thy garb, we deem
'To be some inmate of our evil land."

Ah me ! what wounds I mark'd upon their limbs,
Recent and old, inflicted by the flames.
E'en the remembrance of them grieves me yet.

Attentive to their cry, my teacher paused,
And turn'd to me his visage, and then spake :
" Wait now : our courtesy these merit well :
And were 't not for the nature of the place,
Whence glide the fiery darts, I should have said,
That haste had better suited thee than them."

They, when we stopp'd, resumed their ancient wail,
And, soon as they had reach'd us, all the three
Whirl'd round together in one restless wheel.
As naked champions, smear'd with slippery oil
Are wont, intent, to watch their place of hold
And vantage, ere in closer strife they meet ;
Thus each one, as he wheel'd, his countenance
At me directed, so that opposite
The neck moved ever to the twinkling feet.

" If woe of this unsound and dreary waste,"
Thus one began, " added to our sad cheer
Thus peel'd with flame, do call forth scorn on us
And our entreaties, let our great renown
Incline thee to inform us who thou art,
That dost imprint, with living feet unharm'd,
The soil of Hell. He, in whose track thou sees:
My steps pursuing, naked though he be
And reft of all, was of more high estate
'Than thou believest ; grandchild of the chaste

Gualdrada¹, him they Guidoguerra call'd,
 Who in his lifetime many a noble act²
 Achieved, both by his wisdom and his sword.
 The other, next to me that beats the sand,
 Is Aldobrandi³, name deserving well,
 In the upper world, of honour; and myself,
 Who in this torment do partake with them,
 Am Rusticucci⁴, whom, past doubt, my wife,
 Of savage temper, more than aught beside

¹ *Gualdrada.*] Gualdrada was the daughter of Bellincione Berti, of whom mention is made in the Paradise, Canto xv. and xvi. He was of the family of Ravignani, a branch of the Adimari. The Emperor Otto IV. being at a festival in Florence, where Gualdrada was present, was struck with her beauty; and inquiring who she was, was answered by Bellincione, that she was the daughter of one who, if it was his Majesty's pleasure, would make her admit the honour of his salute. On overhearing this, she arose from her seat, and blushing, in an animated tone of voice, desired her father that he would not be so liberal in his offers, for that no man should ever be allowed that freedom except him who should be her lawful husband. The Emperor was not less delighted by her resolute modesty than he had before been by the loveliness of her person; and calling to him Guido, one of his barons, gave her to him in marriage; at the same time raising him to the rank of a count, and bestowing on her the whole of Casentino, and a part of the territory of Romagna, as her portion. Two sons were the offspring of this union, Guglielmo and Ruggieri; the latter of whom was father of Guidoguerra, a man of great military skill and prowess; who, at the head of four hundred Florentines of the Guelph party, was signally instrumental to the victory obtained at Benevento by Charles of Anjou, over Manfredi King of Naples, in 1265. One of the consequences of this victory was the expulsion of the Ghibellini, and the re-establishment of the Guelfi at Florence. Borghini, (*Disc. dell' Orig. di Firenze*, ediz. 1755. pag. 6.) as cited by Lombardi, endeavours by a comparison of dates to throw discredit on the above relation of Gualdrada's answer to her father, which is found in G. Villani, lib. v. c. xxxvii.: and Lombardi adds, that if it had been true, Bellincione would have been worthy of a place in the eighteenth Canto of Hell, rather than of being mentioned with praise in the Paradise: to which it may be answered, that the proposal of the father, however irreconcilable it may be to our notions of modern refinement, might possibly in those times have been considered rather as a sportive sally than as a serious exposure of his daughter's innocence. The incident is related, in a manner very unfavourable to Berti, by Francesco Sansovino, in one of his Novelle, inserted by Mr. Thomas Roscoe in his entertaining selection from the Italian Novelists, v. iii. p. 137.

² *Many a noble act.*]

Molto egli oprò col senno e con la mano. *Tasso*, *G. L. c. i. st. 1.*

³ *Aldobrandi.*] Tegghiaio Aldobrandi was of the noble family of Adimari, and much esteemed for his military talents. He endeavoured to dissuade the Florentines from the attack which they meditated against the Siennese; and the rejection of his counsel occasioned the memorable defeat which the former sustained at Montaperto, and the consequent banishment of the Guelfi from Florence. ⁴ *Rusticucci.*] Giacompo Rusticucci, a Florentine, remarkable for his opulence and the generosity of his spirit.

Hath to this evil brought." If from the fire
I had been shelter'd, down amidst them straight
I then had cast me; nor my guide, I deem,
Would have restrain'd my going: but that fear
Of the dire burning vanquish'd the desire,
Which made me eager of their wish'd embrace.

I then began: "Not scorn, but grief much more,
Such as long time alone can cure, your doom
Fix'd deep within me, soon as this my lord
Spake words, whose tenor taught me to expect
That such a race, as ye are, was at hand.
I am a countryman of yours, who still
Affectionate have utter'd, and have heard
Your deeds and names renown'd. Leaving the gall,
For the sweet fruit I go, that a sure guide
Hath promised to me. But behoves, that far
As to the centre first I downward tend."

"So may long space thy spirit guide thy limbs,"
He answer straight return'd; "and so thy fame
Shine bright when thou art gone, as thou shalt tell,
If courtesy and valour, as they wont,
Dwell in our city, or have vanish'd clean:
For one amidst us late condemn'd to wail,
Borsiere¹, yonder walking with his peers,
Grieves us no little by the news he brings."

"An upstart multitude and sudden gains,
Pride and excess, O Florence! have in thee
Engender'd, so that now in tears thou mourn'st!"

Thus cried I, with my face upraised, and they
All three, who for an answer took my words,
Look'd at each other, as men look when truth
Comes to their ear. "If at so little cost²,"
They all at once rejoin'd, "thou satisfy
Others who question thee, O happy thou!
Gifted with words so apt to speak thy thought.
Wherefore, if thou escape this darksome clime,

¹ *Borsiere*.] Guglielmo Borsiere, another Florentine, whom Boccaccio, in a story which he relates of him, terms "a man of courteous and elegant manners, and of great readiness in conversation." *Dec. Giorn.* i. Nov. 8.

² *At so little cost*.] They intimate to our poet (as Lombardi well observes) the inconveniences to which his freedom of speech was about to expose him in the future course of his life.

Returning to behold the radiant stars,
When thou with pleasure shalt retrace the past¹,
See that of us thou speak among mankind."

This said, they broke the circle, and so swift
Fled, that as pinions seem'd their nimble feet.

Not in so short a time might one have said
"Amen," as they had vanish'd. Straight my guide
Pursued his track. I follow'd : and small space
Had we past onward, when the water's sound
Was now so near at hand, that we had scarce
Heard one another's speech for the loud din.

E'en as the river², that first holds its course
Unmingled, from the Mount of Vesulo,
On the left side of Apennine, toward
The east, which Acquacheta higher up
They call, ere it descend into the vale,
At Forli³, by that name no longer known,
Rebellows o'er Saint Benedict, roll'd on
From the Alpine summit down a precipice,
Where space⁴ enough to lodge a thousand spreads ;
Thus downward from a craggy steep we found
That this dark wave resounded, roaring loud,
So that the ear its clamour soon had stunn'd.

I had a cord⁵ that braced my girdle round,

¹ *When thou with pleasure shalt retrace the past.*]

Quando ti gioverà dire io fui.

So Tasso, G. L. c. xv. st. 38 : Quando mi gioverà narrar altrui
Le novità vedute, e dire ; io fui.

² *E'en as the river.*] He compares the fall of Phlegethon to that of the Montone (a river in Romagna) from the Apennine above the Abbey of St. Benedict. All the other streams, that rise between the sources of the Po and the Montone, and fall from the left side of the Apennine, join the Po, and accompany it to the sea. ³ *At Forli.*] Because there it loses the name of Acquacheta, and takes that of Montone. ⁴ *Where space.*] Either because the abbey was capable of containing more than those who occupied it, or because (says Landino) the lords of that territory, as Boccaccio related on the authority of the abbot, had intended to build a castle near the water-fall, and to collect within its walls the population of the neighbouring villages. ⁵ *A cord.*] This passage, as it is confessed by Landino, involves a fiction sufficiently obscure. His own attempt to unravel it does not much lessen the difficulty. That which Lombardi has made is something better. It is believed that our poet, in the earlier part of his life, had entered into the order of St. Francis. By observing the rules of that profession, he had designed to mortify his carnal appetites, or, as he expresses it, "to take the painted leopard" (that animal, which, as we have seen in a note to the first Canto, represented Pleasure) "with this cord." This part

Wherewith I erst had thought fast bound to take
 The painted leopard. This when I had all
 Unloosen'd from me (so my master bade)
 I gather'd up, and stretch'd it forth to him.
 Then to the right he turn'd, and from the brink
 Standing few paces distant, cast it down
 Into the deep abyss "And somewhat strange,"
 Thus to myself I spake, "signal so strange
 Betokens, which my guide with earnest eye
 Thus follows." Ah! what caution must men use
 With those who look not at the deed alone,
 But spy into the thoughts with subtle skill¹.
 "Quickly shall come," he said, "what I expect;
 Thine eye discover quickly that, whereof
 Thy thought is dreaming." Ever to that truth²,
 Which but the semblance of a falsehood wears,
 A man, if possible, should bar his lip;
 Since, although blameless, he incurs reproach.
 But silence here were vain; and by these notes³,
 Which now I sing, reader, I swear to thee,
 So may they favour find to latest times!
 That through the gross and murky air I spied
 A shape come swimming up, that might have quell'd
 The stoutest heart with wonder; in such guise

or the habit he is now desired by Virgil to take off; and it is thrown down the gulf, to allure Geryon to them with the expectation of carrying down one who had cloaked his iniquities under the garb of penitence and self-mortification; and thus (to apply to Dante on this occasion the words of Milton)

He, as Franciscan, thought to pass disguised.

¹ *But spy into the thoughts with subtle skill.*]

Sorrise Uranio, che per entro vede

Gli altrui pensier col senno. *Menzini, Sonetto. Mentre io dormia.*

² *Ever to that truth.*] This memorable apophthegm is repeated by Luigi Pulci and Trissino:

Sempre a quel ver, ch' ha faccia di menzogna,

E più senno tacer la lingua cheta,

Che spesso senza colpa fa vergogna. *Morgante Magg. c. xxiv.*

La verità, che par mensogna,

Si dovrebbe tacer dall' uom ch' è saggio. *Italia Lib. c. xvi.*

³ *By these notes.*] So Frezzi:

Per queste rime mie, lettor, ti giuro. *Il Quadrir. lib. iii. cap. 16.*

In like manner, Pindar confirms his veracity by an oath:

Ναι μὰ γὰρ Ὀρκον, ἐμὲν δόξαν. *Nem. xi. 30.*

which is imitated, as usual, by Chiabrera:

Ed io lungo il Permesseo

Sacro alle Muse obligherò mia fede. *Canz. Eroiche, xliii. 75.*

As one returns, who hath been down to loose
 An anchor grappled fast against some rock,
 Or to aught else that in the salt wave lies,
 Who, upward springing, close draws in his feet.

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## CANTO XVII.

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### ARGUMENT.

The monster Geryon is described; to whom while Virgil is speaking in order that he may carry them both down to the next circle, Dante, by permission, goes a little further along the edge of the void, to descry the third species of sinners contained in this compartment, namely, those who have done violence to Art; and then returning to his master, they both descend, seated on the back of Geryon.

“Lo! the fell monster<sup>1</sup> with the deadly sting,  
 Who passes mountains, breaks through fenced walls  
 And firm embattled spears, and with his filth  
 Taints all the world.” Thus me my guide address’d,  
 And beckon’d him, that he should come to shore,  
 Near to the stony causeway’s utmost edge.

Forthwith that image vile of Fraud appear’d,  
 His head and upper part exposed on land,  
 But laid not on the shore his bestial train.  
 His face the semblance of a just man’s wore,  
 So kind and gracious was its outward cheer;  
 The rest was serpent all: two shaggy claws  
 Reach’d to the arm-pits; and the back and breast,  
 And either side, were painted o’er with nodes  
 And orbits. Colours variegated more  
 Nor Turks nor Tartars e’er on cloth of state  
 With interchangeable embroidery wove,  
 Nor spread Arachne o’er her curious loom.  
 As oft-times a light skiff, moor’d to the shore,  
 Stands part in water, part upon the land;  
 Or, as where dwells the greedy German boor,  
 The beaver settles, watching for his prey;  
 So on the rim, that fenced the sand with rock,  
 Sat perch’d the fiend of evil. In the void

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<sup>1</sup> *The fell monster.*] Fraud.

Glancing, his tail upturn'd its venomous fork,  
 With sting like scorpion's arm'd. Then thus my guide :  
 "Now need our way must turn few steps apart,  
 Far as to that ill beast, who couches there."

Thereat, toward the right our downward course  
 We shaped, and, better to escape the flame  
 And burning marle, ten paces on the verge  
 Proceeded. Soon as we to him arrive,  
 A little further on mine eye beholds  
 A tribe of spirits, seated on the sand  
 Near to the void. Forthwith my master spake :  
 "That to the full thy knowledge may extend  
 Of all this round contains, go now, and mark  
 The mien these wear : but hold not long discourse.  
 Till thou returnest, I with him meantime  
 Will parley, that to us he may vouchsafe  
 The aid of his strong shoulders." Thus alone,  
 Yet forward on the extremity I paced  
 Of that seventh circle, where the mournful tribe  
 Were seated. At the eyes forth gush'd their pangs.  
 Against the vapours and the torrid soil  
 Alternately their shifting hands they plied.  
 Thus use the dogs in summer still to ply  
 Their jaws and feet by turns, when bitten sore  
 By gnats, or flies, or gadflies swarming round.

Noting the visages of some, who lay  
 Beneath the pelting of that dolorous fire,  
 One of them all I knew not ; but perceived,  
 That pendent from his neck each bore a pouch<sup>1</sup>  
 With colours and with emblems various mark'd,  
 On which it seem'd as if their eye did feed.

And when, amongst them, looking round I came,  
 A yellow purse<sup>2</sup> I saw with azure wrought,  
 That wore a lion's countenance and port.  
 Then, still my sight pursuing its career,

<sup>1</sup> *A pouch.*] A purse, whereon the armorial bearings of each were emblazoned. According to Landino, our Poet implies that the usurer can pretend to no other honour than such as he derives from his purse and his family. The description of persons by their heraldic insignia is remarkable both on the present and several other occasions in this poem.

<sup>2</sup> *A yellow purse.*] The arms of the Gianfigliuzzi of Florence.



Another<sup>1</sup> I beheld, than blood more red,  
 A goose display of whiter wing than curd.  
 And one, who bore a fat and azure swine<sup>2</sup>  
 Pictured on his white scrip, address'd me thus :  
 "What dost thou in this deep? Go now and know,  
 Since yet thou livest, that my neighbour here  
 Vitaliano<sup>3</sup> on my left shall sit.  
 A Paduan with these Florentines am I.  
 Oft-times they thunder in mine ears, exclaiming,  
 'Oh! haste that noble knight<sup>4</sup>, he who the pouch  
 'With the three goats<sup>5</sup> will bring.'" This said, he  
 The mouth, and loll'd the tongue out, like an ox [writhe  
 That licks his nostrils. I, lest longer stay  
 He ill might brook, who bade me stay not long,  
 Backward my steps from those sad spirits turn'd.

My guide already seated on the haunch  
 Of the fierce animal I found; and thus  
 He me encouraged. "Be thou stout: be bold.  
 Down such a steep flight must we now descend.  
 Mount thou before: for, that no power the tail  
 May have to harm thee, I will be i' th' midst."

As one<sup>6</sup>, who hath an ague fit so near,  
 His nails already are turn'd blue, and he  
 Quivers all o'er, if he but eye the shade;  
 Such was my cheer at hearing of his words.  
 But shame<sup>7</sup> soon interposed her threat, who makes

<sup>1</sup> *Another.*] Those of the Ubbriachi, another Florentine family of high distinction.

<sup>2</sup> *A fat and azure swine.*] The arms of the Scrovigni, a noble family of Padua.

<sup>3</sup> *Vitaliano.*] Vitaliano del Dente, a Paduan.

<sup>4</sup> *That noble knight.*] Giovanni Bujamonti, a Florentine usurer, the most infamous of his time.

<sup>5</sup> *Goats.*] Monti, in his *Proposta*, had introduced a facetious dialogue, on the supposed mistake made in the interpretation of this word "*Becchi*" by the compilers of the *Della Crusca Dictionary*, who translated it "*goats*," instead of "*beaks*." He afterwards saw his own error, and had the ingenuousness to confess it in the *Appendix*, p. 274.

Having in the former editions of this work been betrayed into the same misunderstanding of my author, I cannot do less than follow so good an example, by acknowledging and correcting it.

<sup>6</sup> *As one.*] Dante trembled with fear, like a man who, expecting the return of a quartan ague, shakes even at the sight of a place made cool by the shade.

<sup>7</sup> *But shame.*] I have followed the reading in Vellutello's edition,  
 Ma vergogna mi fe le sue minacce;  
 which appears preferable to the common one,

Ma vergogna mi fer, &c.

It is necessary that I should observe this, because it has been imputed to me as a mistake.

The servant bold in presence of his lord.

I settled me upon those shoulders huge,  
And would have said, but that the words to aid  
My purpose came not, "Look thou clasp me firm."

But he whose succour then not first I proved,  
Soon as I mounted, in his arms aloft,  
Embracing, held me up; and thus he spake:  
"Geryon! now move thee: be thy wheeling gyres  
Of ample circuit, easy thy descent.  
Think on the unusual burden thou sustain'st."

As a small vessel, backening out from land,  
Her station quits; so thence the monster loosed,  
And, when he felt himself at large, turn'd round  
There, where the breast had been, his forked tail.  
Thus, like an eel, outstretch'd at length he steer'd,  
Gathering the air up with retractile claws.

Not greater was the dread, when Phaëton  
The reins let drop at random, whence high heaven,  
Whereof signs yet appear, was wrapt in flames;  
Nor when ill-fated Icarus perceived,  
By liquefaction of the scalded wax,  
The trusted pennons loosen'd from his loins,  
His sire exclaiming loud, "Ill way thou keep'st,"  
Than was my dread, when round me on each part  
The air I view'd, and other object none  
Save the fell beast. He, slowly sailing, wheels  
His downward motion, unobserved of me,  
But that the wind, arising to my face,  
Breathes on me from below. Now on our right  
I heard the cataract beneath us leap  
With hideous crash; whence bending down to explore,  
New terror I conceived at the steep plunge;  
For flames I saw, and wailings smote mine ear:  
So that, all trembling, close I crouch'd my limbs,  
And then distinguish'd, unperceived before,  
By the dread torments that on every side  
Drew nearer, how our downward course we wound.

As falcon, that hath long been on the wing,  
But lure nor bird hath seen, while in despair  
The falconer cries, "Ah me! thou stoop'st to earth,"  
Wearied descends, whence nimbly he arose

In many an airy wheel, and lighting sits  
 At distance from his lord in angry mood ;  
 So Geryon lighting places us on foot  
 Low down at base of the deep-furrow'd rock,  
 And, of his burden there discharged, forthwith  
 Sprang forward, like an arrow from the string.

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CANTO XVIII.

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ARGUMENT.

The Poet describes the situation and form of the eighth circle, divided into ten gulfs, which contain as many different descriptions of fraudulent sinners; but in the present Canto he treats only of two sorts: the first is of those who, either for their own pleasure, or for that of another, have seduced any woman from her duty; and these are scourged of demons in the first gulf: the other sort is of flatterers, who in the second gulf are condemned to remain immersed in filth.

THERE is a place within the depths of hell
 Call'd Malebolge, all of rock dark-stain'd
 With hue ferruginous, e'en as the steep
 That round it circling winds. Right in the midst
 Of that abominable region yawns
 A spacious gulf profound, whereof the frame
 Due time shall tell. The circle, that remains,
 Throughout its round, between the gulf and base
 Of the high craggy banks, successive forms
 Ten bastions, in its hollow bottom raised.

As where, to guard the walls, full many a foss
 Begirds some stately castle, sure defence¹
 Affording to the space within ; so here

¹ *Sure defence.*] La parte dov' e' son rendon sicura.
 This is the common reading; besides which there are two others:

La parte dove il sol rende figura;

and, La parte dov' ei son rende figura:

the former of which two, Lombardi says, is found in Daniello's edition, printed at Venice, 1568; in that printed in the same city with the commentaries of Landino and Vellutello, 1572; and also in some MSS. The latter, which has very much the appearance of being genuine, was adopted by Lombardi himself, on the authority of a text supposed to be in the hand-writing of Filippo Villani, but so defaced by the alterations made in it by some less skilful hand, that the traces of the old ink were with difficulty recovered; and it has, since the publication of Lombardi's edition, been met with also in the Monte Casino MS. Monti is decided in favour of Lombardi's reading, and Biagioli opposed to it.

Were model'd these: and as like fortresses,
 E'en from their threshold to the brink without,
 Are flank'd with bridges; from the rock's low base
 Thus flinty paths advanced, that 'cross the moles
 And dikes struck onward far as to the gulf,
 That in one bound collected cuts them off.
 Such was the place, wherein we found ourselves
 From Geryon's back dislodged. The bard to left
 Held on his way, and I behind him moved.

On our right hand new misery I saw,
 New pains, new executioners of wrath,
 That swarming peopled the first chasm. Below
 Were naked sinners. Hitherward they came,
 Meeting our faces, from the middle point;
 With us beyond¹, but with a larger stride.
 E'en thus the Romans², when the year returns
 Of Jubilee, with better speed to rid
 The thronging multitudes, their means devise
 For such as pass the bridge; that on one side
 All front toward the castle, and approach
 Saint Peter's fane, on the other towards the mount.

Each diverse way, along the grisly rock,
 Horn'd demons I beheld, with lashes huge,
 That on their back unmercifully smote.
 Ah! how they made them bound at the first stripe!
 None for the second waited, nor the third.

Meantime, as on I pass'd, one met my sight,
 Whom soon as view'd, "Of him," cried I, "not yet
 Mine eye hath had his fill." I therefore stay'd³
 My feet to scan him, and the teacher kind
 Paused with me, and consented I should walk

¹ *With us beyond.*] Beyond the middle point they tended the same way with us, but their pace was quicker than ours. ² *E'en thus the Romans.*] In the year 1300, Pope Boniface VIII., to remedy the inconvenience occasioned by the press of people who were passing over the bridge of St. Angelo during the time of the Jubilee, caused it to be divided lengthwise by a partition; and ordered, that all those who were going to St. Peter's should keep one side, and those returning the other. G. Villani, who was present, describes the order that was preserved, lib. viii. c. xxxvi. It was at this time, and on this occasion, as the honest historian tells us, that he first conceived the design of "compiling his book." ³ *I therefore stay'd.*] "I piedi affissi" is the reading of the Nidobeatina edition; but Lombardi is under an error, when he tells us that the other editions have "gli occhi affissi"; for Vellutello's at least, printed in 1544, agrees with the Nidobeatina.

Backward a space ; and the tormented spirit,
 Who thought to hide him, bent his visage down.
 But it avail'd him nought ; for I exclaim'd :
 "Thou who dost cast thine eye upon the ground,
 Unless thy features do belie thee much,
 Venedico¹ art thou. But what brings thee
 Into this bitter seasoning² ?" He replied :
 "Unwillingly I answer to thy words.
 But thy clear speech, that to my mind recalls
 The world I once inhabited, constrains me.
 Know then 't was I who led fair Ghisola
 To do the Marquis' will, however fame
 The shameful tale have bruited. Nor alone
 Bologna hither sendeth me to mourn.
 Rather with us the place is so o'erthrong'd,
 That not so many tongues this day are taught,
 Betwixt the Reno and Savena's stream,
 To answer *Sipa*³ in their country's phrase.
 And if of that securer proof thou need,
 Remember but our craving thirst for gold."

Him speaking thus, a demon with his thong
 Struck and exclaim'd, "Away, corrupter ! here
 Women are none for sale." Forthwith I join'd
 My escort, and few paces thence we came
 To where a rock forth issued from the bank.
 That easily ascended, to the right
 Upon its splinter turning, we depart
 From those eternal barriers. When arrived
 Where, underneath, the gaping arch lets pass
 The scourged souls : "Pause here," the teacher said,
 "And let these others miserable now
 Strike on thy ken ; faces not yet beheld,
 For that together they with us have walk'd."

¹ *Venedico*.] Venedico Caccianimico, a Bolognese, who prevailed on his sister Ghisola to prostitute herself to Obizzo da Este, Marquis of Ferrara, whom we have seen among the tyrants, Canto xii. ² *Seasoning*.] *Salse*. Monti, in his *Proposta*, following Benvenuto da Imola, takes this to be the name of a place. If so, a play must have been intended on the word, which cannot be preserved in English. ³ *To answer Sip*a.] He denotes Bologna by its situation between the rivers Savena to the east, and Reno to the west of that city ; and by a peculiarity of dialect, the use of the affirmative *sipa* instead either of *si*, or, as Monti will have it, of *sia*.

From the old bridge we eyed the pack, who came
 From the other side toward us, like the rest,
 Excoriate from the lash. My gentle guide,
 By me unquestion'd, thus his speech resumed :
 "Behold that lofty shade, who this way tends,
 And seems too woe-begone to drop a tear.
 How yet the regal aspect he retains !
 Jason is he, whose skill and prowess won
 The ram from Colchos. To the Lemnian isle
 His passage thither led him, when those bold
 And pitiless women had slain all their males.
 There he with tokens and fair witching words
 Hypsipyle¹ beguiled, a virgin young,
 Who first had all the rest herself beguiled.
 Impregnated, he left her there forlorn.
 Such is the guilt condemns him to this pain.
 Here too Medea's injuries are avenged.
 All bear him company, who like deceit
 To his have practised. And thus much to know
 Of the first vale suffice thee, and of those
 Whom its keen torments urge." Now had we come
 Where, crossing the next pier, the straiten'd path
 Bestrides its shoulders to another arch.

Hence, in the second chasm we heard the ghost,
 Who gibber in low melancholy sounds,
 With wide-stretch'd nostrils snort, and on themselves
 Smite with their palms. Upon the banks a scurf,
 From the foul steam condensed, encrusting hung,
 That held sharp combat with the sight and smell.

So hollow is the depth, that from no part,
 Save on the summit of the rocky span,
 Could I distinguish aught. Thus far we came ;
 And thence I saw, within the foss below,
 A crowd immersed in ordure, that appear'd
 Draff of the human body. There beneath
 Searching with eye inquisitive, I mark'd
 One with his head so grimed, 't were hard to deem
 If he were clerk or layman. Loud he cried :

¹ *Hypsipyle*.] See Apollonius Rhodius, l. i. and Valerius Flaccus, l. ii
 Hypsipyle deceived the other women, by concealing her father Thoas, when
 they had agreed to put all their males to death.

“Why greedily thus bendest more on me,
Than on these other filthy ones, thy ken?”

“Because, if true my memory,” I replied,
“I heretofore have seen thee with dry locks;
And thou Alessio¹ art, of Lucca sprung.
Therefore than all the rest I scan thee more.”

Then beating on his brain, these words he spake:
“Me thus low down my flatteries have sunk,
Wherewith I ne’er enough could glut my tongue.”

My leader thus: “A little further stretch
Thy face, that thou the visage well mayst note
Of that besotted, sluttish courtezan,
Who there doth rend her with defiled nails,
Now crouching down, now risen on her feet.
Thaïs² is this, the harlot, whose false lip
Answer’d her doting paramour that ask’d,
‘Thankest me much!’—‘Say rather, wondrously,’
And, seeing this, here satiate be our view.”

CANTO XIX.

ARGUMENT.

They come to the third gulf, wherein are punished those who have been guilty of simony. These are fixed with the head downwards in certain apertures, so that no more of them than the legs appears without, and on the soles of their feet are seen burning flames. Dante is taken down by his guide into the bottom of the gulf; and there finds Pope Nicholas the Fifth, whose evil deeds, together with those of other pontiffs, are bitterly reprehended. Virgil then carries him up again to the arch, which affords them a passage over the following gulf.

WOE to thee, Simon Magus! woe to you,
His wretched followers! who the things of God,
Which should be wedded unto goodness, them,
Rapacious as ye are, do prostitute
For gold and silver in adultery.

¹ *Alessio*.] Alessio, of an ancient and considerable family in Lucca, called the Interminci. ² *Thaïs*.] He alludes to that passage in the Eunuchus of Terence, where Thraso asks if Thaïs was obliged to him for the present he had sent her; and Gnatho replies, that she had expressed her obligation in the most forcible terms.

T. Magnas vero agere gratias Thaïs mihi?

G. Ingentes.

Eun. a. iii. s. i.

Now must the trumpet sound for you, since yours
Is the third chasm. Upon the following vault
We now had mounted, where the rock impends
Directly o'er the centre of the foss.

Wisdom Supreme ! how wonderful the art,
Which thou dost manifest in heaven, in earth,
And in the evil world, how just a meed
Allotting by thy virtue unto all.

I saw the livid stone, throughout the sides
And in its bottom full of apertures,
All equal in their width, and circular each.
Nor ample less nor larger they appear'd
Than, in Saint John's fair dome¹ of me beloved,
Those framed to hold the pure baptismal streams,
One of the which I brake, some few years past,
To save a whelming infant : and be this
A seal to undeceive whoever doubts
The motive of my deed. From out the mouth
Of every one emerged a sinner's feet,
And of the legs high upward as the calf.
The rest beneath was hid. On either foot
The soles were burning ; whence the flexile joints
Glanced with such violent motion, as had snapt
Asunder cords or twisted withs. As flame,
Feeding on unctuous matter, glides along
The surface, scarcely touching where it moves ;
So here, from heel to point, glided the flames.

"Master ! say who is he, than all the rest
Glancing in fiercer agony, on whom
A ruddier flame doth prey ?" I thus inquired.

"If thou be willing," he replied, "that I
Carry thee down, where least the slope bank falls,
He of himself shall tell thee, and his wrongs."

I then : "As pleases thee, to me is best.
Thou art my lord ; and know'st that ne'er I quit
Thy will : what silence hides, that knowest thou."

¹ *Saint John's fair dome.*] The apertures in the rock were of the same dimensions as the fonts of St. John the Baptist at Florence ; one of which Dante says, he had broken, to rescue a child that was playing near and fell in. He intimates, that the motive of his breaking the font had been maliciously represented by his enemies

Thereat on the fourth pier we came, we turn'd,
 And on our left descended to the depth,
 A narrow strait, and perforated close.
 Nor from his side my leader set me down,
 Till to his orifice he brought, whose limb
 Quivering express'd his pang. "Whoe'er thou art,
 Sad spirit! thus reversed, and as a stake
 Driven in the soil," I in these words began;
 "If thou be able, utter forth thy voice."

There stood I like the friar, that doth shrive
 A wretch for murder doom'd, who, e'en when fix'd¹,
 Calleth him back, whence death awhile delays.

He shouted: "Ha! already standest there?
 Already standest there, O Boniface²!
 By many a year the writing play'd me false.
 So early dost thou surfeit with the wealth,
 For which thou fearedst not in guile³ to take
 The lovely lady, and then mangle her?"

I felt as those who, piercing not the drift
 Of answer made them, stand as if exposed
 In mockery, nor know what to reply;
 When Virgil thus admonish'd: "Tell him quick,
 'I am not he, not he whom thou believest.'"

And I, as was enjoin'd me, straight replied.

That heard, the spirit all did wrench his feet,
 And, sighing, next in woeful accent spake:
 "What then of me requirest? If to know
 So much imports thee, who I am, that thou
 Hast therefore down the bank descended, learn
 That in the mighty mantle I was robed⁴,

When fix'd.] The commentators on Boccaccio's Decameron, p. 72. ediz. Giunti, 1573, cite the words of the statute by which murderers were sentenced thus to suffer at Florence. "Assassinus trahatur ad caudam muli seu asini usque ad locum justitiæ; et ibidem plantetur capite deorsum, ita quod moriatur." "Let the assassin be dragged at the tail of a mule or ass to the place of justice; and there let him be set in the ground with his face downward, so that he die." ² *O Boniface!*] The spirit mistakes Dante for Boniface VIII., who was then alive; and who he did not expect would have arrived so soon, in consequence, as it should seem, of a prophecy, which predicted the death of that pope at a later period. Boniface died in 1303.

³ *In guile.*] "Thou didst presume to arrive by fraudulent means at the papal power, and afterwards to abuse it." ⁴ *In the mighty mantle I was robed.*] Nicholas III. of the Orsini family, whom the Poet therefore calls "figliuol dell' orsa," "son of the ~~saw~~ bear." He died in 1281.

And of a she-bear was indeed the son,
 So eager to advance my whelps, that there
 My having in my purse above I stow'd,
 And here myself. Under my head are dragg'd
 The rest, my predecessors in the guilt
 Of simony. Stretch'd at their length, they lie
 Along an opening in the rock. 'Midst them
 I also low shall fall, soon as he comes,
 For whom I took thee, when so hastily
 I question'd. But already longer time
 Hath past, since my soles kindled, and I thus
 Upturn'd have stood, than is his doom to stand
 Planted with fiery feet. For after him,
 One yet of deeds more ugly shall arrive,
 From forth the west, a shepherd without law¹,
 Fated to cover both his form and mine.
 He a new Jason² shall be call'd, of whom
 In Maccabees we read; and favour such
 As to that priest his king indulgent show'd,
 Shall be of France's monarch³ shown to him."

I know not if I here too far presumed,
 But in this strain I answer'd: "Tell me now
 What treasures from Saint Peter at the first
 Our Lord demanded, when he put the keys
 Into his charge? Surely he ask'd no more
 But 'Follow me!' Nor Peter⁴, nor the rest,
 Or gold or silver of Matthias took,
 When lots were cast upon the forfeit place
 Of the condemned soul⁵. Abide thou then;
 Thy punishment of right is merited:
 And look thou well to that ill-gotten coin,
 Which against Charles⁶ thy hardihood inspired.

¹ *From forth the west, a shepherd without law.*] Bertrand de Got, Arch. bishop of Bourdeaux, who succeeded to the pontificate in 1305, and assumed the title of Clement V. He transferred the holy see to Avignon in 1308, (where it remained till 1376,) and died in 1314. ² *A new Jason.*] "But after the death of Seleucus, when Antiochus, called Epiphanes, took the kingdom, Jason, the brother of Onias, laboured underhand to be high-priest, promising unto the king, by intercession, three hundred and threescore talents of silver, and of another revenue eighty talents." *Maccab. b. ii. ch. iv. 7, 8.*
³ *Of France's monarch.*] Philip IV. of France. See G. Villani, lib. viii. c. lxxx. ⁴ *Nor Peter.*] Acts of the Apostles, ch. i. 26. ⁵ *The condemned soul.*] Judas. ⁶ *Against Charles.*¹ Nicholas III. was enraged

If reverence of the keys restrain'd me not,
 Which thou in happier time didst hold, I yet
 Severer speech might use. Your avarice
 O'ercasts the world with mourning, under foot¹
 Treading the good, and raising bad men up.
 Of shepherds like to you, the Evangelist²

against Charles I. King of Sicily, because he rejected with scorn a proposition made by that pope for an alliance between their families. See G. Villani, Hist. lib. vii. c. liv.

¹ Under foot.] — So shall the world go on,
 To good malignant, to bad men benign.

Milton, P. L. b. xii. 538.

² The Evangelist.] Rev. c. xvii. 1, 2, 3.—Petrarch, in one of his Epistles, had his eye on these lines: "*Gaude (inquam) et ad aliquid utilis inventa gloriare bonorum hostis et malorum hospes, atque asylum pessima rerum Babylon feris, Rhodani ripis imposita, famosa dicam an infamis meretrix, fornicata cum regibus terræ. Illa equidem ipsa es quam in spiritu sacer vidit Evangelista. Illa eadem, inquam, es, non alia, sedens super aquas multas, sive ad littora tribus cincta fluminibus sive rerum atque divitiarum turba mortalium quibus lasciviens ac secuta insides opum immemor æternarum sive ut idem qui vidit, exposuit. Populi et gentes et linguæ aquæ sunt, super quas meretrix sedes, recognosce habitum,*" &c. *Petrarchæ Opera, ed. fol. Basil. 1554. Epist. sine titulo Liber, ep. xvi. p. 729.* The text is here probably corrupted. The construction certainly may be rendered easier by omitting the *ad* before *littora*, and substituting a comma for a full stop after *exposuit*. With all the respect that is due to a venerable prelate and truly learned critic, I cannot but point out a mistake he has fallen into, relating to this passage, when he observes, that "Numberless passages in the writings of Petrarch speak of Rome under the name of Babylon. But an equal stress is not to be laid on all these. It should be remembered, that the popes, in Petrarch's time, resided at Avignon, greatly to the disparagement of themselves, as he thought, and especially of Rome; of which this singular man was little less than idolatrous. The situation of the place, surrounded by waters, and his splenetic concern for the *exiled* church, (for under this idea he painted to himself the pope's migration to the banks of Avignon,) brought to his mind the condition of the Jewish church in the Babylonian captivity. And this parallel was all, perhaps, that he meant to insinuate in most of those passages. But when he applies the prophecies to Rome, as to the *Apocalyptic* Babylon, (as he clearly does in the epistle under consideration,) his meaning is not equivocal, and we do him but justice to give him an honourable place among the TESTES VERITATIS." *An Introduction to the Study of the Prophecies, &c.,* by Richard Hurd, D. D. serm. vii. p. 239. note y. ed. 1772. Now, a reference to the words printed in Italics, which the Bishop of Worcester has omitted in his quotation, will make it sufficiently evident, that *Avignon*, and not *Rome*, is here alluded to by Petrarch. The application that is made of these prophecies by two men so eminent for their learning and sagacity as Dante and Petrarch is, however, very remarkable, and must be satisfactory to those who have renounced the errors and corruptions of the papacy. Such applications were indeed frequent in the middle ages, as may be seen in the "Sermons" above referred to. Balbo observes, that it is not Rome, as most erroneously interpreted, but Avignon, and the court there, that is termed Babylon by Dante and Petrarch. *Vita di Dante, v. ii. p. 103.*

Was ware, when her, who sits upon the waves,
 With kings in filthy whoredom he beheld;
 She who with seven heads tower'd at her birth,
 And from ten horns her proof of glory drew,
 Long as her spouse in virtue took delight.
 Of gold and silver ye have made your god,
 Differing wherein from the idolater,
 But that he worships one, a hundred ye?
 Ah, Constantine¹! to how much ill gave birth,
 Not thy conversion, but that plenteous dower,
 Which the first wealthy Father gain'd from thee."

Meanwhile, as thus I sung, he, whether wrath
 Or conscience smote him, violent upsprang
 Spinning on either sole. I do believe
 My teacher well was pleased, with so composed
 A lip he listen'd ever to the sound
 Of the true words I utter'd. In both arms
 He caught, and, to his bosom lifting me,
 Upward retraced the way of his descent.
 Nor weary of his weight, he press'd me close,

¹ *Ah, Constantine!*] He alludes to the pretended gift of the Lateran by Constantine to Sylvester, of which Dante himself seems to imply a doubt, in his treatise "De Monarchiâ."—"Ergo scindere Imperium, Imperatori non licet. Si ergo aliquæ dignitates per Constantinum essent alienatæ (ut dicunt) ab Imperio," &c. lib. iii. "Therefore to make a rent in the empire exceeds the lawful power of the emperor himself. If, then, some dignities were by Constantine alienated (as they report) from the empire, &c." In another part of the same treatise he speaks of the alienation with less doubt indeed, but not with less disapprobation: "O felicem populum! O Ausoniam te gloriosam! si vel numquam infirmator imperii tui extitisset; vel numquam sua pia intentio ipsum fefellisset."—"O happy people! O glorious Italy! if either he who thus weakened thine empire had never been born, or had never suffered his own pious intentions to mislead him." Lib. ii. *ad finem*. The gift is by Ariosto very humorously placed in the moon, among the things lost or abused on earth:

Di varj fiori ad un gran monte passa,
 Ch' ebber già buono odore, or puzzan forte,
 Questo era il dono (se però dir lece)

Che Costantino al buon Silvestro fece. *Orl. Fur.* c. xxxiv. st. 80.

Milton has translated both this passage and that in the text. *Prose Works*, vol. i. p. 11. ed. 1753.

Ah, Constantine! of how much ill was cause
 Not thy conversion, but those rich domains
 That the first wealthy pope received of thee.
 Then pass'd he to a flowery mountain green,
 Which once smelt sweet, now stinks as odiously;
 This was that gift, if you the truth will have,
 That Constantine to good Sylvester gave.

Till to the summit of the rock we came,
 Our passage from the fourth to the fifth pier.
 His cherish'd burden there gently he placed
 Upon the rugged rock and steep, a path
 Not easy for the clambering goat to mount.

Thence to my view another vale appear'd.

~~~~~  
 CANTO XX.

—  
 ARGUMENT.

The Poet relates the punishment of such as presumed, while living, to predict future events. It is to have their faces reversed and set the contrary way on their limbs, so that, being deprived of the power to see before them, they are constrained ever to walk backwards. Among these Virgil points out to him Amphiaraus, Tiresias, Aruns, and Manto, (from the mention of whom he takes occasion to speak of the origin of Mantua) together with several others, who had practised the arts of divination and astrology.

AND now the verse proceeds to torments new,  
 Fit argument of this the twentieth strain  
 Of the first song, whose awful theme records  
 The spirits whelm'd in woe. Earnest I look'd  
 Into the depth, that open'd to my view,  
 Moisten'd with tears of anguish, and beheld  
 A tribe, that came along the hollow vale,  
 In silence weeping: such their step as walk  
 Quires, chanting solemn litanies, on earth.

As on them more direct mine eye descends,  
 Each wonderously seem'd to be reversed<sup>1</sup>  
 At the neck-bone, so that the countenance  
 Was from the reins averted; and because  
 None might before him look, they were compell'd  
 To advance with backward gait. Thus one perhaps  
 Hath been by force of palsy clean transposed,  
 But I ne'er saw it nor believe it so.

Now, reader! think within thyself, so God

---

<sup>1</sup> *Reversed.*] But very uncouth sight was to behold  
 How he did fashion his untoward pace;  
 For as he forward moved his footing old,  
 So backward still was turn'd his wrinkled face;  
 Unlike to men, who, ever as they trace,  
 Both feet and face one way are wont to lead.

*Spenser, Faery Queen, b. i. c. viii. st. 31.*

Fruit of thy reading give thee ! how I long  
 Could keep my visage dry<sup>1</sup>, when I beheld  
 Near me our form distorted in such guise,  
 That on the hinder parts fallen from the face  
 The tears down-streaming roll'd. Against a rock  
 I leant and wept, so that my guide exclaim'd :  
 " What, and art thou, too, witless as the rest ?  
 Here pity most doth show herself alive,  
 When she is dead. What guilt exceedeth his,  
 Who with Heaven's judgment in his passion strives ?  
 Raise up thy head, raise up, and see the man  
 Before whose eyes<sup>2</sup> earth gaped in Thebes, when all  
 Cried out ' Amphiaraüs, whither rushest ?  
 ' Why leavest thou the war ? ' He not the less  
 Fell ruining<sup>3</sup> far as to Minos down,  
 Whose grapple none eludes. Lo ! how he makes  
 The breast his shoulders ; and who once too far  
 Before him wish'd to see, now backward looks,  
 And treads reverse his path. ' Tiresias<sup>4</sup> note,  
 Who semblance changed, when woman he became

<sup>1</sup> ——— *How I long*

*Could keep my visage dry.]*

Sight so deform what heart of man could long  
 Dry-eyed behold ? Adam could not, but wept.

*Milton, P. L. b. xi. 495.*

<sup>2</sup> *Before whose eyes.]* Amphiaraüs, one of the seven kings who besieged Thebes. He is said to have been swallowed up by an opening of the earth. See Lidgate's *Storie of Thebes*, part iii. where it is told how the " Bishop Amphiaraüs " fell down to hell :

And thus the devill, for his outrages,  
 Like his desert payed him his wages.

A different reason, for his being doomed thus to perish, is assigned by Pindar :

|                                       |                                      |
|---------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| ὁ δ' Ἀμφιάρῃ, &c. <i>Nem. ix.</i>     | Or ever on thy back the spear        |
| For thee, Amphiaraüs, earth,          | Of Periclymenus impress'd            |
| By Jove's all-riving thunder cleft,   | A wound to shame thy warlike breast. |
| Her mighty bosom open'd wide,         | For struck with panic fear           |
| Thee and thy plunging steeds to hide, | The gods' own children flee.         |

<sup>3</sup> *Ruining.]* " Ruinare." Hence, perhaps, Milton, *P. L. b. vi. 868* :  
 Heaven ruining from heaven.

<sup>4</sup> *Tiresias.]* — Duo magnorum viridi coeuntia sylva  
 Corpora serpentum baculi violaverat ictu,  
 Deque viro factus (mirabile) femina, septem  
 Egerat autumnos. Octavo rursus eosdem  
 Vidit. Et, est vestrae si tanta potentia plagæ,  
 Nunc quoque vos feriam. Percussis anguibz isdem  
 Forma prior rediit, genitivaque venit imago.

*Ovid. Met. lib. iii.*

Of male, through every limb transform'd ; and then  
 Once more behoved him with his rod to strike  
 The two entwining serpents, ere the plumes,  
 That mark'd the better sex, might shoot again.

“ Aruns<sup>1</sup>, with rere his belly facing, comes.  
 On Luni's mountains'midst the marbles white,  
 Where delves Carrara's hind, who wons beneath,  
 A cavern was his dwelling, whence the stars  
 And main-sea wide in boundless view he held.

“ The next, whose loosen'd tresses overspread  
 Her bosom, which thou seest not (for each hair  
 On that side grows) was Manto<sup>2</sup>, she who search'd  
 Through many regions, and at length her seat  
 Fix'd in my native land : whence a short space  
 My words detain thy audience. When her sire  
 From life departed, and in servitude  
 The city dedicate to Bacchus mourn'd,  
 Long time she went a wanderer through the world.  
 Aloft in Italy's delightful land  
 A lake there lies, at foot of that proud Alp  
 That o'er the Tyrol locks Germania in,  
 Its name Benacus, from whose ample breast  
 A thousand springs, methinks, and more, between  
 Camonica<sup>3</sup> and Garda, issuing forth,

<sup>1</sup> *Aruns.*] Aruns is said to have dwelt in the mountains of Luni, (from whence that territory is still called Lunigiana,) above Carrara, celebrated for its marble. Lucan, *Phars.* lib. i. 575. So Boccaccio, in the *Fiammetta*, lib. iii. : “ Quale Arunte,” &c. “ Like Aruns, who amidst the white marbles of Luni contemplated the celestial bodies and their motions.” Compare Fazio degli Uberti, *Dittamondo*, l. iii. cap. vi. <sup>2</sup> *Manto.*] The daughter of Tiresias of Thebes, a city dedicated to Bacchus. From Manto, Mantua, the country of Virgil, derives its name. The Poet proceeds to describe the situation of that place. But see the note to *Purgatory*, canto xxii. v. 112. <sup>3</sup> *Camonica.*] Lombardi, instead of

Fra Garda, e val Camonica e Apennino,  
 reads Fra Garda e val Camonica Pennino,  
 from the *Nidobeatina* edition, (to which he might have added that of Vellutello in 1544,) and two MSS., all of which omit the second conjunction, the only part of the alteration that affects the sense. I have re-translated the passage, which in the former editions stood thus :

—— which a thousand rills  
 Methinks, and more, water between the vale  
 Camonica and Garda, and the height  
 Of Apennine remote.

It should be added, that Vellutello reads “ Valdimonica ” for “ Val Camonica ”; but which of these is right remains to be determined by a colla-

Water the Apennine. There is a spot<sup>1</sup>  
 At midway of that lake, where he who bears  
 Of Trento's flock the pastoral staff, with him  
 Of Brescia, and the Veronese, might each  
 Passing that way his benediction give.  
 A garrison of goodly site and strong<sup>2</sup>  
 Peschiera<sup>3</sup> stands, to awe with front opposed  
 The Bergamese and Brescian, whence the shore  
 More slope each way descends. There, whatsoe'er  
 Benacus' bosom holds not, tumbling o'er  
 Down falls, and winds a river flood beneath  
 Through the green pastures. Soon as in his course  
 The stream makes head, Benacus then no more  
 They call the name, but Mincius, till at last  
 Reaching Governo, into Po he falls.  
 Not far his course hath run, when a wide flat  
 It finds, which overstretching as a marsh  
 It covers, pestilent in summer oft.  
 Hence journeying, the savage maiden saw  
 Midst of the fen a territory waste  
 And naked of inhabitants. To shun  
 All human converse, here she with her slaves,  
 Plying her arts, remain'd, and lived, and left  
 Her body tenantless. Thenceforth the tribes,  
 Who round were scatter'd, gathering to that place,  
 Assembled ; for its strength was great, enclosed  
 On all parts by the fen. On those dead bones  
 They rear'd themselves a city, for her sake  
 Calling it Mantua, who first chose the spot,  
 Nor ask'd another omen for the name ;  
 Wherein more numerous the people dwelt,  
 Ere Casalodi's madness<sup>4</sup> by deceit

---

tion of editions and MSS., and still more perhaps by a view of the country in the neighbourhood of the lake, (now called the Lago di Garda,) with a reference to this passage. <sup>1</sup> *There is a spot.*] Prato di Fame, where the dioceses of Trento, Verona, and Brescia meet.

<sup>2</sup> *A garrison of goodly site and strong.*]

Gaza, bello e forte arnese

Da fronteggiar i regni di Soria. *Tasso, Ger. Lib. c. i. st. 67.*

<sup>3</sup> *Peschiera.*] A garrison situated to the south of the lake, where it empties itself and forms the Mincius. <sup>4</sup> *Casalodi's madness.*] Alberto da Casalodi, who had got possession of Mantua, was persuaded, by Pinamonte Buonacossi, that he might ingratiate himself with the people, by banishing to their own castles the nobles, who were obnoxious to them. No sooner



Was wrong'd of Pinamonte. If thou hear  
Henceforth another origin<sup>1</sup> assign'd  
Of that my country, I forewarn thee now,  
That falsehood none beguile thee of the truth."

I answer'd, "Teacher, I conclude thy words  
So certain, that all else shall be to me  
As embers lacking life. But now of these,  
Who here proceed, instruct me, if thou see  
Any that merit more especial note.  
For thereon is my mind alone intent."

He straight replied: "That spirit, from whose cheek  
The beard sweeps o'er his shoulders brown, what time  
Græcia was emptied of her males, that scarce  
The cradles were supplied, the seer was he  
In Aulis, who with Calchas gave the sign  
When first to cut the cable. Him they named  
Eurypilus: so sings my tragic strain<sup>2</sup>,  
In which majestic measure well thou know'st,  
Who know'st it all. That other, round the loins  
So slender of his shape, was Michael Scot<sup>3</sup>,

---

was this done, than Pinamonte put himself at the head of the populace, drove out Casalodi and his adherents, and obtained the sovereignty for himself.

<sup>1</sup> *Another origin.*] Lombardi refers to Servius on the Tenth Book of the *Æneid*. Alii a Tarchone Tyrrheni fratre conditam dicunt Mantuam autem ideo nominatam quia Etrusca lingua Mantum ditem patrem appellant.

<sup>2</sup> *So sings my tragic strain.*]

Suspensi Eurypilum scitatum oracula Phœbi

Mittimus. —

*Virg. Æneid. ii. 14.*

<sup>3</sup> *Michael Scot.*] "Egli non ha ancora guari, che in questa città fu un gran maestro in negromanzia, il quale ebbe nome Michele Scotto, perciò che di Scozia era." *Boccaccio, Dec. Giorn.* viii. nov. 9. "It is not long since there was in this city (Florence) a great master in necromancy, who was called Michele Scotto, because he was from Scotland." See also Giov. Villani, *Hist. lib. x. cap. cv. and cxli. and lib. xii. cap. xviii.* and Fazio degli Uberti, *Dittamondo*, l. ii. cap. xxvii. I make no apology for adding the following curious particulars extracted from the notes to Mr. Scott's *Lay of the Last Minstrel*, a poem in which a happy use is made of the superstitions relating to the subject of this note. "Sir Michael Scott, of Balwearie, flourished during the thirteenth century, and was one of the ambassadors sent to bring the Maid of Norway to Scotland upon the death of Alexander III. He was a man of much learning, chiefly acquired in foreign countries. He wrote a commentary upon Aristotle, printed at Venice in 1496, and several treatises upon natural philosophy, from which he appears to have been addicted to the abstruse studies of judicial astrology, alchymy, physiognomy, and chiromancy. Hence he passed among his contemporaries for a skilful magician. Dempster informs us, that he remembers to have heard in his youth, that the magic books of Michael Scott were still in existence, but could not be opened without danger, on account of the fiends who were thereby invoked. Dempsteri

Practised in every slight of magic wile.

“Guido Bonatti<sup>1</sup> see : Asdente<sup>2</sup> mark,  
Who now were willing he had tended still  
The thread and cordwain, and too late repents

“See next the wretches, who the needle left.  
The shuttle and the spindle, and became  
Diviners : baneful witcheries they wrought  
With images and herbs. But onward now :  
For now doth Cain with fork of thorns<sup>3</sup> confine

*Historia Ecclesiastica*, 1627, lib. xii. p. 495. Leslie characterizes Michael Scott as “Singulari philosophiæ astronomiæ ac medicinæ laude præstans, dicebatur penitissimos magiæ recessus indagasse.” A personage thus spoken of by biographers and historians loses little of his mystical fame in vulgar tradition. Accordingly, the memory of Sir Michael Scott survives in many a legend; and in the south of Scotland any work of great labour and antiquity is ascribed either to the agency of Auld Michael, of Sir William Wallace, or of the devil. Tradition varies concerning the place of his burial: some contend for Holme Coltrame in Cumberland, others for Melrose Abbey: but all agree that his books of magic were interred in his grave, or preserved in the convent where he died.” *The Lay of the Last Minstrel*, by Walter Scott, Esq. Lond. 4to. 1805. p. 234, notes. Mr. Warton, speaking of the new translations of Aristotle, from the original Greek into Latin, about the twelfth century, observes: “I believe the translators understood very little Greek. Our countryman, Michael Scotus, was one of the first of them; who was assisted by Andrew, a Jew. Michael was astrologer to Frederic II. Emperor of Germany, and appears to have executed his translations at Toledo in Spain, about the year 1220. These new versions were perhaps little more than corrections from those of the early Arabians, made under the inspection of the learned Spanish Saracens.” *History of English Poetry*, vol. i. dissert. ii. and sect. ix. p. 292. Among the Canonici MSS. in the Bodleian, I have seen (No 520) the astrological works of Michael Scot, on vellum, with an illuminated portrait of him at the beginning.

<sup>1</sup> *Guido Bonatti*.] An astrologer of Forlì, on whose skill Guido da Montefeltro, lord of that place, so much relied, that he is reported never to have gone into battle, except in the hour recommended to him as fortunate by Bonatti. Landino and Vellutello speak of a book which he composed on the subject of his art. Macchiavelli mentions him in the History of Florence, l. i. p. 24. ed. 1550. “He flourished about 1230 and 1260. Though a learned astronomer he was seduced by astrology, through which he was greatly in favour with many princes of that time. His many works are miserably spoiled by it.” *Bettinelli, Risorgimento d'Italia*, t. i. p. 118, 8vo. 1786. He is referred to in Brown's *Vulgar Errors*, b. 4. c. 12. <sup>2</sup> *Asdente*.] A shoemaker at Parma, who deserted his business to practise the arts of divination. How much this man had attracted the public notice appears from a passage in our author's *Convito*, p. 179, where it is said, in speaking of the derivation of the word “noble,” that “if those who were best known were accounted the most noble, Asdente, the shoemaker of Parma, would be more noble than any one in that city.” <sup>3</sup> *Cain with fork of thorns*.] By Cain and the thorns, or what is still vulgarly called the Man in the Moon, the Poet denotes that luminary. The same superstition is alluded to in the *Paradise*, Canto ii. 52. The curious reader may consult Brand on Popular

On either hemisphere, touching the wave  
 Beneath the towers of Seville. Yesternight  
 The moon was round. Thou mayst remember well :  
 For she good service did thee in the gloom  
 Of the deep wood." This said, both onward moved.

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 CANTO XXI.
 ———

ARGUMENT.

Still in the eighth circle, which bears the name of Malebolge, they look down from the bridge that passes over its fifth gulf, upon the barterers or public speculators. These are plunged in a lake of boiling pitch, and guarded by Demons, to whom Virgil, leaving Dante apart, presents himself; and license being obtained to pass onward, both pursue their way.

THUS we from bridge to bridge, with other talk,
 The which my drama cares not to rehearse,
 Pass'd on; and to the summit reaching, stood
 To view another gap, within the round
 Of Malebolge, other bootless pangs.

Marvellous darkness shadow'd o'er the place.

In the Venetians' arsenal ¹ as boils
 Through wintry months tenacious pitch, to smear
 Their unsound vessels; for the inclement time
 Sea-faring men restrains, and in that while
 His bark one builds anew, another stops
 The ribs of his that hath made many a voyage,
 One hammers at the prow, one at the poop,
 This shapeth oars, that other cables twirls,
 The mizen one repairs, and main-sail rent;
 So, not by force of fire but art divine,
 Boil'd ² here a glutinous thick mass, that round
 Limed all the shore beneath. I that beheld,

Antiquities, 4to. 1813. vol. ii. p. 476, and Douce's Illustrations of Shakespeare, 8vo. 1807. v. i. p. 16.

¹ *In the Venetians' arsenal.*]

Come dentr' ai Navai della gran terra,
 Tra le lacune del mar d'Adria posta,
 Serban la pece la togata gente,
 Ad uso di lor navi e di lor triremi;

Per solcar poi sicuri il mare ondoso, &c. *Ruccellai, Le Api*, v. 165.

Dryden seems to have had the passage in the text before him in his *Annus Mirabilis*, st. 146, &c. ² *Boil'd.*] *Vidi flumen magno de Inferno procedere ardens, atque piceum. Alberici Visio*, § 17.

But therein nought distinguish'd, save the bubbles
 Raised by the boiling, and one mighty swell
 Heave¹, and by turns subsiding fall. While there
 I fix'd my ken below, "Mark ! mark !" my guide
 Exclaiming, drew me towards him from the place
 Wherein I stood. I turn'd myself, as one
 Impatient to behold that which beheld
 He needs must shun, whom sudden fear unmans,
 That he his flight delays not for the view.
 Behind me I discern'd a devil black,
 That running up advanced along the rock.
 Ah ! what fierce cruelty his look bespake.
 In act how bitter did he seem, with wings
 Buoyant outstretch'd and feet of nimblest tread.
 His shoulder, proudly eminent and sharp,
 Was with a sinner charged ; by either haunch
 He held him, the foot's sinew griping fast.

"Ye of our bridge !" he cried, "keen-talon'd fiends !
 Lo ! one of Santa Zita's elders². Him
 Whelm ye beneath, while I return for more.
 That land hath store of such. All men are there,
 Except Bonturo, barterers³ : of 'no'
 For lucre there an 'ay' is quickly made."

Him dashing down, o'er the rough rock he turn'd ;
 Nor ever after thief a mastiff loosed
 Sped with like eager haste. That other sank,
 And forthwith writhing to the surface rose.
 But those dark demons, shrouded by the bridge,
 Cried, "Here the hallow'd visage⁴ saves not : here
 Is other swimming than in Serchio's wave⁵,

¹ ——— *One mighty swell*

Heave.] Vidi etiam os putei magnum flammam emittentem, et nunc sursum nunc deorsum descendentem. *Alberici Visio*, § 11. ² *One of Santa Zita's elders.*] The elders or chief magistrates of Lucca, where Santa Zita was held in especial veneration. The name of this sinner is supposed to have been Martino Bottaio. ³ *Except Bonturo, barterers.*] This is said ironically of Bonturo de' Dati. By *barterers* are meant peculators, of every description ; all who traffic the interests of the public for their own private advantage. ⁴ *The hallow'd visage.*] A representation of the head of our Saviour worshipped at Lucca.

⁵ *Is other swimming than in Serchio's wave.*]

Qui si nuota altrimenti che nel Serchio.

Serchio is the river that flows by Lucca. So Pulci, *Morg. Magg c. xxiv*

Qui si nuota nel sangue, e non nel Serchio.

Wherefore, if thou desire we rend thee not,
 'Take heed thou mount not o'er the pitch.'" This said,
 They grappled him with more than hundred hooks,
 And shouted: "Cover'd thou must sport thee here;
 So, if thou canst, in secret mayst thou fileh."
 E'en thus the cook bestirs him, with his grooms,
 To thrust the flesh¹ into the caldron down
 With flesh-hooks, that it float not on the top.

Me then my guide bespake: "Lest they descry
 That thou art here, behind a craggy rock
 Bend low and skreen thee: and whate'er of force
 Be offer'd me, or insult, fear thou not;
 For I am well advised, who have been erst
 In the like fray." Beyond the bridge's head
 Therewith he pass'd; and reaching the sixth pier,
 Behoved him then a forehead terror-proof.

With storm and fury, as when dogs rush forth
 Upon the poor man's back, who suddenly
 From whence he standeth makes his suit; so rush'd
 Those from beneath the arch, and against him
 Their weapons all they pointed. He, aloud:
 "Be none of you outrageous: ere your time
 Dare seize me, come forth from amongst you one,
 Who having heard my words, decide he then
 If he shall tear these limbs." They shouted loud,
 "Go, Malacoda!" Whereat one advanced,
 The others standing firm, and as he came,
 "What may this turn avail him?" he exclaim'd.

"Believest thou, Malacoda! I had come
 Thus far from all your skirmishing secure,"
 My teacher answer'd, "without will divine
 And destiny propitious? Pass we then;
 For so Heaven's pleasure is, that I should lead
 Another through this savage wilderness."

Forthwith so fell his pride, that he let drop
 The instrument of torture at his feet,
 And to the rest exclaim'd: "We have no power
 To strike him." Then to me my guide: "O thou:

¹ *The flesh.*] In eundem flumen corruunt: rursumque assurgentes, ac denuo recidentes, tamdiu ibidem cruciantur, donec in morem carum excocti, &c. *Alberici Visio*, § 17

Who on the bridge among the crags dost sit
Low crouching, safely now to me return."

I rose, and towards him moved with speed; the fiends
Meantime all forward drew: me terror seized,
Lest they should break the compact they had made.
Thus issuing from Caprona¹, once I saw
The infantry, dreading lest his covenant
The foe should break; so close he hemm'd them round.

I to my leader's side adhered, mine eyes
With fixt and motionless observance bent
On their unkindly visage. They their hooks
Protruding, one the other thus bespake:
"Wilt thou I touch him on the hip?" To whom
Was answer'd: "Even so; nor miss thy aim."

But he, who was in conference with my guide,
Turn'd rapid round; and thus the demon spake:
"Stay, stay thee, Scarmiglione!" Then to us
He added: "Further footing to your step
This rock affords not, shiver'd to the base
Of the sixth arch. But would ye still proceed,
Up by this cavern go: not distant far,
Another rock will yield you passage safe.
Yesterday², later by five hours than now,
Twelve hundred threescore years and six had fill'd
The circuit of their course, since here the way
Was broken. Thitherward I straight dispatch
Certain of these my scouts, who shall espy
If any on the surface bask. With them
Go ye: for ye shall find them nothing fell.
Come, Alichino, forth," with that he cried,
"And Calcabrina, and Cagnazzo³ thou!"

¹ *From Caprona.*] The surrender of the castle of Caprona to the combined forces of Florence and Lucca, on condition that the garrison should march out in safety, to which event Dante was a witness, took place in 1290. See G. Villani, *Hist. lib. vii. c. cxxxvi.* ² *Yesterday.*] This passage fixes the era of Dante's descent at Good Friday, in the year 1300, (34 years from our blessed Lord's incarnation being added to 1266,) and at the thirty-fifth year of our Poet's age. See Canto i. v. 1. The awful event alluded to, the Evangelists inform us, happened "at the ninth hour," that is, our sixth, when "the rocks were rent," and the convulsion, according to Dante, was felt even in the depths of Hell. See Canto xii. v. 38. ³ *Cagnazzo.*] Pulci introduces some of these demons in a very pleasant adventure, related near the beginning of the second Canto of his *Morgante Maggiore*:

The troop of ten let Barbariccia lead.
 With Libicocco, Draghinazzo haste,
 Fang'd Ciriatto, Graffiacane fierce,
 And Farfarello, and mad Rubicant.
 Search ye around the bubbling tar. For these,
 In safety lead them, where the other crag
 Uninterrupted traverses the dens."

I then : "O master¹! what a sight is there.
 Ah! without escort, journey we alone,
 Which, if thou know the way, I covet not.
 Unless thy prudence fail thee, dost not mark
 How they do gnarl upon us, and their scowl
 Threatens us present tortures?" He replied :
 "I charge thee, fear not : let them, as they will,
 Gnarl on : 'tis but in token of their spite
 Against the souls who mourn in torment steep'd."
 To leftward o'er the pier they turn'd ; but each
 Had first between his teeth prest close the tongue,
 Toward their leader for a signal looking,
 Which he with sound obscene² triumphant gave.

Non senti tu, Orlando, in quella tomba
 Quelle parole, che colui rimbomba?
 Io voglio andar a scoprir quello avello,
 Là dove e' par che quella voce s'oda,
 Ed escane Cagnazzo, e Farfarello,
 O Libicocco, col suo Malacoda ;
 E finalmente s'accostava a quello,
 Però che Orlando questa impresa loda,
 E disse ; scuopri, se vi fussi dentro
 Quanti ne piovon mai dal ciel nel centro. Stanze 30, 1.

"Perceivest the words, Orlando, which this fellow
 Doth in our ears out of that tomb rebellow?
 "I'll go, and straight the sepulchre uncase,
 From whence, as seems to me, that voice was heard ;
 Be Farfarel and Cagnazzo to my face,
 Or Libicoc with Malacoda, stirr'd :"
 And finally he drew near to the place ;
 The emprise Orlando praising with this word :
 "Uncase it, though within as many dwell,
 As ever were from heaven rain'd down to hell."

O master!] Lombardi tells us that every edition, except his favourite Nidobeatina, has "O me" printed separately, instead of "Omè." This is not the case at least with Landino's of 1484. But there is no end of these inaccuracies. ² With sound obscene.] Compare the original with Aristophanes, Nubes. 165 :—

— σάλλπιγξ ὁ πρωκτός ἐστίν

CANTO XXII.

ARGUMENT.

Virgil and Dante proceed, accompanied by the Demons, and see other sinners of the same description in the same gulf. The device of Ciampolo, one of these, to escape from the Demons, who had laid hold on him.

It hath been heretofore my chance to see
 Horsemen with martial order shifting camp,
 To onset sallying, or in muster ranged,
 Or in retreat sometimes outstretch'd for flight :
 Light-armed squadrons and fleet foragers
 Scouring thy plains, Arezzo ! have I seen,
 And clashing tournaments, and tilting jousts,
 Now with the sound of trumpets, now of bells,
 Tabors¹, or signals made from castled heights,
 And with inventions multiform, our own,
 Or introduced from foreign land ; but ne'er
 To such a strange recorder I beheld,
 In evolution moving, horse nor foot,
 Nor ship, that tack'd by sign from land or star.

With the ten demons on our way we went ;
 Ah, fearful company ! but in the church²
 With saints, with gluttons at the tavern's mess.

Still earnest on the pitch I gazed, to mark
 All things whate'er the chasm contain'd³, and those
 Who burn'd within. As dolphins⁴ that, in sign
 To mariners, heave high their arched backs,
 That thence forewarn'd they may advise to save
 Their threaten'd vessel ; so, at intervals,

¹ *Tabors.*] “Tabour, a drum, a common accompaniment of war, is mentioned as one of the instruments of martial music in this battle (in Richard Cœur-de-Lion) with characteristical propriety. It was imported into the European armies from the Saracens in the holy war. Joinville describes a superb bark or galley belonging to a Saracen chief which, he says, was filled with cymbals, tabours, and Saracen horns. *Hist. de S. Loys*, p. 30.” *Warton's Hist. of English Poetry*, v. i. § 4. p. 167. ² *In the church.*] This proverb is repeated by Pulci, *Morg. Magg.* c. xvii. ³ *Whate'er the chasm contain'd.*] Monti, in his *Proposta*, interprets “contegno” to mean, not “contents” but “state,” “condition.”

⁴ *As dolphins.*] — li lieti delfini

Givan saltando sopra l'onde chiare,
 Che soglion di fortuna esser divini.

Frezzi, Il Quadriv. lib. i. cap. 15.

To ease the pain, his back some sinner show'd,
Then hid more nimbly than the lightning-glance.

E'en as the frogs, that of a watery moat
Stand at the brink, with the jaws only out,
Their feet and of the trunk all else conceal'd,
Thus on each part the sinners stood ; but soon
As Barbariccia was at hand, so they
Drew back under the wave. I saw, and yet
My heart doth stagger, one, that waited thus,
As it befalls that oft one frog remains,
While the next springs away : and Graffiacan¹,
Who of the fiends was nearest, grappling seized
His clotted locks, and dragg'd him sprawling up,
That he appear'd to me an otter. Each
Already by their names I knew, so well
When they were chosen I observed, and mark'd
How one the other call'd. "O Rubicant !
See that his hide thou with thy talons flay,"
Shouted together all the cursed crew.

Then I : "Inform thee, Master ! if thou may,
What wretched soul is this, on whom their hands
His foes have laid." My leader to his side
Approach'd, and whence he came inquired ; to whom
Was answer'd thus : "Born in Navarre's domain²,
My mother placed me in a lord's retinue ;
For she had borne me to a losel vile,
A spendthrift of his substance and himself.
The good king Thibault³ after that I served⁴ :

¹ *Graffiacan.*] Fuseli, in a note to his third Lecture, observes, that "the Minos of Dante, in Messer Biagio da Cesena, and his Charon, have been recognised by all ; but less the shivering wretch held over the barge by a hook, and evidently taken from this passage." He is speaking of Michael Angelo's Last Judgment. ² *Born in Navarre's domain.*] The name of this speculator is said to have been Ciampolo. ³ *The good king Thibault.*] "Thibault I. King of Navarre, died on the 8th of June, 1233, as much to be commended for the desire he showed of aiding the war in the Holy Land, as reprehensible and faulty for his design of oppressing the rights and privileges of the church ; on which account it is said that the whole kingdom was under an interdict for the space of three entire years.—Thibault undoubtedly merits praise, as for his other endowments, so especially for his cultivation of the liberal arts, his exercise and knowledge of music and poetry, in which he so much excelled, that he was accustomed to compose verses and sing them to the viol, and to exhibit his poetical compositions publicly in his palace, that they might be criticised by all." *Mariana, History of Spain*, b. xiii. c. 9. An account of Thibault, and two of his

To peculating here my thoughts were turn'd,
Whereof I give account in this dire heat."

Straight Ciriatto, from whose mouth a tusk
Issued on either side, as from a boar,
Ripp'd him with one of these. 'Twixt evil claws
The mouse had fallen: but Barbariccia cried,
Seizing him with both arms: "Stand thou apart
While I do fix him on my prong transpierced."
Then added, turning to my guide his face,
"Inquire of him, if more thou wish to learn,
Ere he again be rent." My leader thus:
"Then tell us of the partners in thy guilt;
Knowest thou any sprung of Latian land
Under the tar?"—"I parted," he replied,
"But now from one, who sojourn'd not far thence;
So were I under shelter now with him,
Nor hook nor talon then should scare me more."

"Too long we suffer," Libicocco cried;
Then, darting forth a prong, seized on his arm,
And mangled bore away the sinewy part.
Him Draghinazzo by his thighs beneath
Would next have caught; whence angrily their chief,
Turning on all sides round, with threatening brow
Restrain'd them. When their strife a little ceased,
Of him, who yet was gazing on his wound,
My teacher thus without delay inquired:
"Who was the spirit, from whom by evil hap
Parting, as thou hast told, thou camest to shore?"—
"It was the friar Gomita¹," he rejoind,

songs, with what were probably the original melodies, may be seen in Dr. Burney's *History of Music*, v. ii. c. iv. His poems, which are in the French language, were edited by M. l'Evêque de la Ravallière. Paris. 1742. 2 vol. 12mo. Dante twice quotes one of his verses in the *Treatise de Vulg. Eloq.* lib. i. c. ix. and lib. ii. c. v. and refers to him again, lib. ii. c. vi. From "the good king Thibault" are descended the good, but more unfortunate monarch, Louis XVI. of France, and consequently the present legitimate sovereign of that realm. See Henault, *Abrégé Chron.* 1252, 3, 4. * *I served.*] Again Lombardi misrepresents the readings of other editions, as he does throughout this Canto in several instances, wherein he professes to follow that which he has selected for his model; but, as these varieties regard certain delicacies of the original language, and do not affect the sense, I shall not trouble my readers by noticing them.

¹ *The friar Gomita.*] He was intrusted by Nino de' Visconti with the government of Gallura, one of the four jurisdictions into which Sardinia was divided. Having his master's enemies in his power he took a bribe from

“He of Gallura, vessel of all guile,
 Who had his master’s enemies in hand,
 And used them so that they commend him well.
 Money he took, and them at large dismiss’d ;
 So he reports ; and in each other charge
 Committed to his keeping play’d the part
 Of barterer to the height. With him doth herd
 The chief of Logodoro, Michel Zanche¹.
 Sardinia is a theme whereof their tongue
 Is never weary. Out ! alas ! behold
 That other, how he grins. More would I say,
 But tremble lest he mean to maul me sore.”

Their captain then to Farfarello turning,
 Who roll’d his moony eyes in act to strike,
 Rebuked him thus : “Off, cursed bird ! avaunt !”

“If ye desire to see or hear,” he thus
 Quaking with dread resumed, “or Tuscan spirits
 Or Lombard, I will cause them to appear.
 Meantime let these ill talons bate their fury,
 So that no vengeance they may fear from them,
 And I, remaining in this self-same place,
 Will, for myself but one, make seven appear,
 When my shrill whistle shall be heard : for so
 Our custom is to call each other up.”

Cagnazzo at that word deriding grinn’d,
 Then wagg’d the head and spake : “Hear his device,
 Mischievous as he is, to plunge him down.”

Whereto he thus, who fail’d not in rich store
 Of nice-wove toils : “Mischief, forsooth, extreme !
 Meant only to procure myself more woe.”

No longer Alichino then refrain’d,
 But thus, the rest gainsaying, him bespake :
 “If thou do cast thee down, I not on foot
 Will chase thee, but above the pitch will beat
 My plumes. Quit we the vantage ground, and let
 The bank be as a shield ; that we may see,
 If singly thou prevail against us all.”

them, and allowed them to escape. Mention of Nino will recur in the notes to Canto xxxiii. and in the Purgatory, Canto viii. ¹ *Michel Zanche*.] The president of Logodoro, another of the four Sardinian jurisdictions. See Canto xxxiii. Note to v. 136

Now, reader, of new sport expect to hear.

They each one turn'd his eyes to the other shore,
He first, who was the hardest to persuade.
The spirit of Navarre chose well his time,
Planted his feet on land, and at one leap
Escaping, disappointed their resolve.

Them quick resentment stung, but him the most
Who was the cause of failure: in pursuit
He therefore sped, exclaiming, "Thou art caught."

But little it avail'd; terror outstripp'd
His following flight; the other plunged beneath,
And he with upward pinion raised his breast:
E'en thus the water-fowl, when she perceives
The falcon near, dives instant down, while he
Enraged and spent retires. That mockery
In Calcabrina fury stirr'd, who flew
After him, with desire of strife inflamed;
And, for the barterer had 'scaped, so turn'd
His talons on his comrade. O'er the dyke
In grapple close they join'd; but the other proved
A goshawk able to rend well his foe;
And in the boiling lake both fell. The heat
Was umpire¹ soon between them; but in vain
To lift themselves they strove, so fast were glued
Their pennons. Barbariccia, as the rest,
That chance lamenting, four in flight dispatch'd
From the other coast, with all their weapons arm'd.
They, to their post on each side speedily
Descending, stretch'd their hooks toward the fiends,
Who flounder'd, inly burning from their scars:
And we departing left them to that broil.

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CANTO XXIII.

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ARGUMENT.

The enraged Demons pursue Dante, but he is preserved from them by Virgil. On reaching the sixth gulf, he beholds the punishment of the hypocrites; which is, to pace continually round the gulf under the pressure of

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<sup>1</sup> *Umpire.*] Schermidor. The reader, if he thinks it worth while, may consult the Proposta of Monti on this word, which, with Lombardi he would alter to sghermitor.



caps and hoods, that are gilt on the outside, but leaden within. He is addressed by two of these, Catalano and Loderingo, knights of Saint Mary, otherwise called Joyous Friars of Bologna. Caiaphas is seen fixed to a cross on the ground, and lies so stretched along the way, that all tread on him in passing.

IN silence and in solitude we went,  
One first, the other following his steps,  
As minor friars journeying on their road.

The present fray had turn'd my thoughts to muse  
Upon old Æsop's fable<sup>1</sup>, where he told  
What fate unto the mouse and frog befel ;  
For language hath not sounds more like in sense,  
Than are these chances, if the origin  
And end of each be heedfully compared.  
And as one thought bursts from another forth,  
So afterward from that another sprang,  
Which added doubly to my former fear.  
For thus I reason'd : " These through us have been  
So foil'd, with loss and mockery so complete,  
As needs must sting them sore. If anger then  
Be to their evil will conjoin'd, more fell  
They shall pursue us, than the savage hound  
Snatches the leveret panting 'twixt his jaws."

Already I perceived my hair stand all  
On end with terror, and look'd eager back.

"Teacher," I thus began, "if speedily  
Thyself and me thou hide not, much I dread  
Those evil talons. Even now behind  
They urge us : quick imagination works  
So forcibly, that I already feel them."

He answer'd : " Were I form'd of leaded glass,  
I should not sooner draw unto myself  
Thy outward image, than I now imprint  
That from within. This moment came thy thoughts  
Presented before mine, with similar act  
And countenance similar, so that from both  
I one design have framed. If the right coast  
Incline so much, that we may thence descend  
Into the other chasm, we shall escape

---

<sup>1</sup> *Æsop's fable.*] The fable of the frog, who offered to carry the mouse across a ditch, with the intention of drowning him, when both were carried off by a kite. It is not among those Greek fables which go under the name of Æsop.

Secure from this imagined pursuit.<sup>1</sup>

He had not spoke<sup>1</sup> his purpose to the end,  
When I from far beheld them with spread wings  
Approach to take us. Suddenly my guide  
Caught me, even as a mother that from sleep  
Is by the noise aroused, and near her sees  
The climbing fires, who snatches up her babe  
And flies ne'er pausing, careful more of him  
Than of herself, that but a single vest  
Clings round her limbs. Down from the jutting beach  
Supine he cast him to that pendent rock,  
Which closes on one part the other chasm.

Never ran water with such hurrying pace  
Adown the tube to turn a land-mill's wheel,  
When nearest it approaches to the spokes,  
As then along that edge my master ran,  
Carrying me in his bosom, as a child,  
Not a companion. Scarcely had his feet  
Reach'd to the lowest of the bed beneath,  
When over us the steep they reach'd : but fear  
In him was none ; for that high Providence,  
Which placed them ministers of the fifth foss,  
Power of departing thence took from them all.

There in the depth we saw a painted tribe,  
Who paced with tardy steps around, and wept,  
Faint in appearance and o'ercome with toil.  
Caps had they on, with hoods, that fell low down  
Before their eyes, in fashion like to those  
Worn by the monks in Cologne<sup>2</sup>. Their outside  
Was overlaid with gold, dazzling to view,  
But leaden all within, and of such weight,  
That Frederick's<sup>3</sup> compared to these were straw.  
Oh, everlasting wearisome attire !

We yet once more with them together turn'd

---

<sup>1</sup> *He had not spoke.*] Cumque ego cum angelis relictus starem pavidus, unus ex illis tartareis ministris horridis (Qu. horridus?) hispidis (Qu. hispidus?) aspectuque procerus festinus adveniens me impellere, et quomodo-cumque nocere conabatur: cum ecce apostolus velocius accurrens, meque subito arripiens in quendam locum gloriose projecit visionis. *Alberici Visio*, § 15. <sup>2</sup> *Monks in Cologne.*] They wore their cowls unusually large.

<sup>3</sup> *Frederick's.*] The Emperor Frederick II. is said to have punished those who were guilty of high treason by wrapping them up in lead, and casting them into a furnace.

To leftward, on their dismal moan intent.  
But by the weight opprest, so slowly came  
The fainting people, that our company  
Was changed, at every movement of the step.

Whence I my guide address'd : "See that thou find  
Some spirit, whose name may by his deeds be known ;  
And to that end look round thee as thou go'st."

Then one, who understood the Tuscan voice,  
Cried after us aloud : "Hold in your feet,  
Ye who so swiftly speed through the dusk air.  
Perchance from me thou shalt obtain thy wish."

Whereat my leader, turning, me bespake :  
"Pause, and then onward at their pace proceed."

I staid, and saw two spirits in whose look  
Impatient eagerness of mind was mark'd  
To overtake me ; but the load they bare  
And narrow path retarded their approach.

Soon as arrived, they with an eye askance  
Perused me, but spake not : then turning, each  
To other thus conferring said : "This one  
Seems, by the action of his throat, alive ;  
And, be they dead, what privilege allows  
They walk unmantled by the cumbrous stole?"

Then thus to me : "Tuscan, who visitest  
The college of the mourning hypocrites,  
Disdain not to instruct us who thou art."

"By Arno's pleasant stream," I thus replied,  
"In the great city I was bred and grew,  
And wear the body I have ever worn.  
But who are ye, from whom such mighty grief,  
As now I witness, courseth down your cheeks ?  
What torment breaks forth in this bitter woe ?"

"Our bonnets gleaming bright with orange hue<sup>1</sup>"  
One of them answer'd, "are so leaden gross,  
That with their weight they make the balances

---

<sup>1</sup> *Our bonnets gleaming bright with orange hue.*] It is observed by Venturi, that the word "rance" does not here signify "rancid or disgustful," as it is explained by the old commentators, but "orange-coloured," in which sense it occurs in the Purgatory, Canto ii. 9. By the erroneous interpretation Milton appears to have been misled ; "Ever since the day peepe, till now the sun was grown somewhat ranke." *Prose Works*, v. i. p. 160. ed. 1753.

To crack beneath them. Joyous friars<sup>1</sup> we were,  
 Bologna's natives ; Catalano I,  
 He Loderingo named ; and by thy land  
 Together taken, as men use to take  
 A single and indifferent arbiter,  
 To reconcile their strifes. How there we sped,  
 Gardingo's vicinage<sup>2</sup> can best declare."

"O friars !" I began, "your miseries—"  
 But there brake off, for one had caught mine eye,  
 Fix'd to a cross with three stakes on the ground :  
 He, when he saw me, writhed himself, throughout  
 Distorted, ruffling with deep sighs his beard.  
 And Catalano, who thereof was 'ware,  
 Thus spake : "That pierced spirit<sup>3</sup>, whom intent  
 Thou view'st, was he who gave the Pharisees  
 Counsel, that it were fitting for one man  
 To suffer for the people. He doth lie  
 Transverse ; nor any passes, but him first  
 Behoves make feeling trial how each weighs.  
 In straits like this along the foss are placed  
 The father of his consort<sup>4</sup>, and the rest

---

<sup>1</sup> *Joyous friars.*] "Those who ruled the city of Florence on the part of the Ghibellines perceiving this discontent and murmuring, which they were fearful might produce a rebellion against themselves, in order to satisfy the people, made choice of two knights, Frati Godenti (joyous friars) of Bologna, on whom they conferred the chief power in Florence ; one named M. Catalano de' Malavolti, the other M. Loderingo di Liandolo ; one an adherent of the Guelph, the other of the Ghibelline party. It is to be remarked, that the Joyous Friars were called Knights of St. Mary, and became knights on taking that habit : their robes were white, the mantle sable, and the arms a white field and red cross with two stars : their office was to defend widows and orphans : they were to act as mediators ; they had internal regulations, like other religious bodies. The above-mentioned M. Loderingo was the founder of that order. But it was not long before they too well deserved the appellation given them, and were found to be more bent on enjoying themselves than on any other object. These two friars were called in by the Florentines, and had a residence assigned them in the palace belonging to the people, over against the Abbey. Such was the dependence placed on the character of their order, that it was expected they would be impartial, and would save the commonwealth any unnecessary expense ; instead of which, though inclined to opposite parties, they secretly and hypocritically concurred in promoting their own advantage rather than the public good." *G. Villani*, b. vii. c. xiii. This happened in 1266. <sup>2</sup> *Gardingo's vicinage.*] The name of that party of the city which was inhabited by the powerful Ghibelline family of the Uberti, and destroyed under the partial and iniquitous administration of Catalano and Loderingo. <sup>3</sup> *That pierced spirit.*] Caiaphas. <sup>4</sup> *The father of his consort.*] Annas, father-in-law to Caiaphas.



Partakers in that council, seed of ill  
 And sorrow to the Jews." I noted then,  
 How Virgil gazed with wonder upon him,  
 Thus abjectly extended on the cross  
 In banishment eternal. To the friar  
 He next his words address'd : " We pray ye tell,  
 If so be lawful, whether on our right  
 Lies any opening in the rock, whereby  
 We both may issue hence, without constraint  
 On the dark angels, that compell'd they come  
 To lead us from this depth." He thus replied :  
 " Nearer than thou dost hope, there is a rock  
 From the great<sup>1</sup> circle moving, which o'ersteps  
 Each vale of horror, save that here his cope  
 Is shatter'd. By the ruin ye may mount :  
 For on the side it slants, and most the height  
 Rises below." With head bent down awhile  
 My leader stood ; then spake : " He warn'd us ill<sup>2</sup>,  
 Who yonder hangs the sinners on his hook."

To whom the friar : " At Bologna erst  
 I many vices of the devil heard ;  
 Among the rest was said, ' He is a liar<sup>3</sup>,  
 ' And the father of lies!'" When he had spoke,  
 My leader with large strides proceeded on,  
 Somewhat disturb'd with anger in his look.

I therefore left the spirits heavy laden,  
 And, following, his beloved footsteps mark'd.

## CANTO XXIV.

### ARGUMENT.

Under the escort of his faithful master, Dante not without difficulty makes his way out of the sixth gulf; and in the seventh, sees the robbers tormented by venomous and pestilent serpents. The soul of Vanni Fucci, who had pillaged the sacristy of Saint James in Pistoia, predicts some calamities that impended over that city, and over the Florentines.

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<sup>1</sup> *Great.*] In the former editions it was printed "next." The error was observed by Mr. Carlyle. <sup>2</sup> *He warn'd us ill.*] He refers to the falsehood told him by the demon. Canto xxi. 108. <sup>3</sup> *He is a liar.*] "He is a liar and the father of it." *John*, c. viii. 44. Dante had perhaps heard this text from one of the pulpits in Bologna.

In the year's early nonage<sup>1</sup>, when the sun  
 Tempers his tresses in Aquarius' urn,  
 And now towards equal day the nights recede ;  
 Whenas the rime upon the earth puts on  
 Her dazzling sister's image<sup>2</sup>, but not long  
 Her milder sway endures ; then riseth up  
 The village hind, whom fails his wintry store<sup>3</sup>,  
 And looking out beholds the plain around  
 All whiten'd ; whence impatiently he smites  
 His thighs, and to his hut returning in,  
 There paces to and fro, wailing his lot,  
 As a discomfited and helpless man ;  
 Then comes he forth again, and feels new hope  
 Spring in his bosom, finding e'en thus soon  
 The world hath changed its countenance, grasps his crook,  
 And forth to pasture drives his little flock :  
 So me my guide dishearten'd, when I saw  
 His troubled forehead ; and so speedily  
 That ill was cured ; for at the fallen bridge  
 Arriving, towards me with a look as sweet,  
 He turn'd him back, as that I first beheld  
 At the steep mountain's foot. Regarding well  
 The ruin, and some counsel first maintain'd  
 With his own thought, he open'd wide his arm  
 And took me up. As one, who, while he works,  
 Computes his labour's issue, that he seems  
 Still to foresee the effect ; so lifting me  
 Up to the summit of one peak, he fix'd  
 His eye upon another. "Grapple that,"  
 Said he, "but first make proof, if it be such  
 As will sustain thee." For one capt with lead  
 This were no journey. Scarcely he, though light,  
 And I, though onward push'd from crag to crag,

<sup>1</sup> *In the year's early nonage.*] "At the latter part of January, when the sun enters into Aquarius, and the equinox is drawing near, when the hoar-frosts in the morning often wear the appearance of snow, but are melted by the rising sun."

<sup>2</sup> *Her dazzling sister's image.*] λιγνὺν μέλαιναν, αἰόλην πυρὸς κάσιν.  
*Æschyl. Septem Contra Thebas*, v. 490. *Blomfield's edit.*  
 — κάσις

πηλοῦ ξύνουρος, διψία κόνις. *Æschyl. Agamemnon*, v. 478. *Blomfield.*

<sup>3</sup> *Whom fails his wintry store.*] A cui ia roba manca.  
 So in the Purgatorio, c. xiii. 61. Così gli ciechi a cui la roba manca.

Could mount. And if the precinct of this coast  
 Were not less ample than the last, for him  
 I know not, but my strength had surely fail'd.  
 But Malebolge all toward the mouth  
 Inclining of the nethermost abyss,  
 The site of every valley hence requires,  
 That one side upward slope, the other fall.

At length the point from whence<sup>1</sup> the utmost stone  
 Juts down, we reach'd ; soon as to that arrived,  
 So was the breath exhausted from my lungs  
 I could no further, but did seat me there.

“Now needs thy best of man ;” so spake my guide :  
 “For not on downy plumes<sup>2</sup>, nor under shade  
 Of canopy reposing, fame is won ;  
 Without which whosoe'er consumes his days,  
 Leaveth such vestige of himself on earth,  
 As smoke in air or foam upon the wave.  
 Thou therefore rise : vanquish thy weariness<sup>3</sup>  
 By the mind's effort, in each struggle form'd  
 To vanquish, if she suffer not the weight  
 Of her corporeal frame to crush her down.  
 A longer ladder yet remains to scale.  
 From these to have escaped sufficeth not,  
 If well thou note me, profit by my words.”

I straightway rose, and show'd myself less spent  
 Than I in truth did feel me. “On,” I cried,  
 “For I am stout and fearless.” Up the rock

<sup>1</sup> *From whence.*] Mr. Carlyle notes the mistake in my former translation ; and I have corrected it accordingly.

<sup>2</sup> *Not on downy plumes.*]

Lettor, tu dei pensar che, senza ardire,  
 Senza affanno soffrir, l'uomo non puote  
 Fama acquistar, ne gran cose fornire.

*Fazio degli Uberti, Dittamondo, lib. iv. cap. iv.*

Nessun mai per fuggir, o per riposo,  
 Venne in altezza fama ovver in gloria.

*Frezzi, Il Quadrir. lib. ii. cap. ii.*

Signor, non sotto l'ombra in spiaggia molle  
 Tra fonti e fior, tra Ninfe e tra Sirene,  
 Ma in cima all' erto e faticoso colle

Della virtù riposto è il nostro bene. *Tasso, G. L. c. xvii. st. 61.*

*Vanquish thy weariness.*]

— Quin corpus onustum

Hesternis vitiis animum quoque prægravat una,  
 Atque affigit humi divinæ particulam auræ. *Hor. Sat. ii. lib. ii. 78*

Our way we held, more rugged than before,  
 Narrower, and steeper far to climb. From talk  
 I ceased not, as we journey'd, so to seem  
 Least faint ; whereat a voice from the other foss  
 Did issue forth, for utterance suited ill.  
 Though on the arch that crosses there I stood,  
 What were the words I knew not, but who spake  
 Seem'd moved in anger. Down I stoop'd to look ;  
 But my quick eye might reach not to the depth  
 For shrouding darkness ; wherefore thus I spake :  
 " To the next circle, teacher, bend thy steps,  
 And from the wall dismount we ; for as hence  
 I hear and understand not, so I see  
 Beneath, and nought discern."—" I answer not,"  
 Said he, " but by the deed. To fair request  
 Silent performance maketh best return."

We from the bridge's head descended, where  
 To the eighth mound it joins ; and then, the chasm  
 Opening to view, I saw a crowd within  
 Of serpents<sup>1</sup> terrible, so strange of shape  
 And hideous, that remembrance in my veins  
 Yet shrinks the vital current. Of her sands<sup>2</sup>  
 Let Libya vaunt no more : if Jaculus,  
 Pareas and Chelyder be her brood,  
 Cenchris and Amphibæna, plagues so dire  
 Or in such numbers swarming ne'er she show'd,  
 Not with all Ethiopia, and whate'er  
 Above the Erythræan sea is spawn'd.

Amid this dread exuberance of woe  
 Ran naked spirits wing'd with horrid fear,  
 Nor hope had they of crevice where to hide,  
 Or heliotrope<sup>3</sup> to charm them out of view.

<sup>1</sup> *Serpents.*] Vidi locum horridum tenebrosum fœtoribus exhalantibus flammis crepitantibus serpentibus, draconibus — repletum. *Alberici Visio*, § 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Of her sands.*] Compare Lucan, *Phars.* lib. ix. 703.

<sup>3</sup> *Heliotrope.*] Viridi colore est (gemma heliotropion) non ita acuto sed nubilo magis et represso, stellis puniceis superspersa. Causa nominis de effectu lapidis est et potestate. Dejecta in labris æneis radios solis mutat sanguineo percussu, utraque aquâ splendorem aëris abjicit et avertit. Etiam illud posse dicitur, ut herbâ ejusdem nominis mixta et præcantationibus legitimis consecrata, eum, a quocunque gestabitur, subtrahat visibus obviatorum. *Solinus*, c. xl. "A stone," says Boccaccio, in his humorous tale of Calandrino, "which we lapidaries call heliotrope, of such extraordi-



With serpents were their hands behind them bound,  
 Which through their reins infix'd the tail and head,  
 Twisted in folds before. And lo ! on one  
 Near to our side, darted an adder up,  
 And, where the neck is on the shoulders tied,  
 Transpierced him. Far more quickly than e'er pen  
 Wrote O or I, he kindled, burn'd, and changed  
 To ashes all, pour'd out upon the earth.  
 When there dissolved he lay, the dust again  
 Uproll'd spontaneous, and the self-same form  
 Instant resumed. So mighty sages tell,  
 The Arabian Phœnix<sup>1</sup>, when five hundred years  
 Have well nigh circled, dies, and springs forthwith  
 Renascent : blade nor herb throughout his life  
 He tastes, but tears of frankincense<sup>2</sup> alone  
 And odorous amomum : swaths of nard  
 And myrrh his funeral shroud. As one that falls,  
 He knows not how, by force demoniac dragg'd  
 To earth, or through obstruction fettering up  
 In chains invisible the powers of man,

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nary virtue, that the bearer of it is effectually concealed from the sight of all present." *Decam.* G. viii. N. 3. In Chiabrera's Ruggiero, Scaltrimento begs of Sofia, who is sending him on a perilous errand, to lend him the heliotrope.

———In mia man fida

L'elitropia, per cui possa involarmi

Secondo il mio talento agli occhi altrui. c. vi.

Trust to my hand the heliotrope, by which

I may at will from others' eyes conceal me.

Compare Ariosto, *Il Negromante*, a. 3. s. 3. Pulci, *Morg. Magg.* c. xxv, and Fortiguerra, *Ricciardetto*, c. x. st. 17. Gower, in his *Confessio Amantis*, lib. vii. enumerates it among the jewels in the diadem of the sun :—

Jaspis and heliotropius.

<sup>1</sup> *The Arabian Phœnix.*] This is translated from Ovid, *Metam.* lib. xv. :—

Una est quæ reparat, seque ipsa reseminat ales ;

Assyrii Phœnica vocant. Nec fruge neque herbis,

Sed thuris lacrymis, et succo vivit amomi.

Hæc ubi quinque suæ complevit secula vitæ,

Ilicis in ramis, tremulaeque cacumine palmæ,

Unguibus et pando nidam sibi construit ore.

Qua simul ut casias, et nardi lenis aristas,

Quassaque cum fulvâ substravit cinnama myrrhâ,

Se super imponit, finitque in odoribus ævum.

See also Petrarch, *Canzone* :—Qual piu, &c.

<sup>2</sup> *Tears of frankincense.*] Incenso e mirra è quello onde si pasce.

Fazio degli Uberti, *Dittamondo*, in a gorgeous description of the Phœnix lib. ii. cap. v.

Who, risen from his trance, gazeth around<sup>1</sup>,  
 Bewilder'd with the monstrous agony  
 He hath endured, and wildly staring sighs ;  
 So stood aghast the sinner when he rose.

Oh ! how severe God's judgment, that deals out  
 Such blows in stormy vengeance. Who he was,  
 My teacher next inquired ; and thus in few  
 He answer'd : " Vanni Fucci<sup>2</sup> am I call'd,  
 Not long since rained down from Tuscany  
 To this dire gullet. Me the bestial life  
 And not the human pleased, mule that I was,  
 Who in Pistoia found my worthy den."

I then to Virgil : " Bid him stir not hence ;  
 And ask what crime did thrust him hither : once  
 A man I knew him, choleric and bloody."

The sinner heard and feign'd not, but towards me  
 His mind directing and his face, wherein  
 Was dismal shame depicted, thus he spake :  
 " It grieves me more to have been caught by thee  
 In this sad plight, which thou beholdest, than  
 When I was taken from the other life.  
 I have no power permitted to deny  
 What thou inquirest. I am doom'd thus low  
 To dwell, for that the sacristy by me  
 Was rifled of its goodly ornaments,  
 And with the guilt another falsely charged.  
 But that thou mayst not joy to see me thus,  
 So as thou e'er shalt 'scape this darksome realm,  
 Open thine ears and hear what I forebode.  
 Reft of the Neri first Pistoia<sup>3</sup> pines ;  
 Then Florence<sup>4</sup> changeth citizens and laws ;

<sup>1</sup> *Gazeth around.*] Su mi levai senza far più parole,  
 Cogli occhi intorno stupido mirando,  
 Si come l'Epilentico far suole.

*Frezzi, Il Quadriv. lib. ii. cap. iii*

<sup>2</sup> *Vanni Fucci.*] He is said to have been an illegitimate offspring of the family of Lazari in Pistoia, and, having robbed the sacristy of the church of St. James in that city, to have charged Vanni della Nona with the sacrilege ; in consequence of which accusation the latter suffered death.

<sup>3</sup> *Pistoia.*] "In May 1301, the Bianchi party of Pistoia, with the assistance and favour of the Bianchi, who ruled Florence, drove out the party of the Neri from the former place, destroying their houses, palaces, and farms." *Giov. Villani, Hist. lib. viii. c. xlv.* <sup>4</sup> *Then Florence.*] "Soon after the Bianchi will be expelled from Florence, the Neri will prevail, and the

From Valdimagra<sup>1</sup>, drawn by wrathful Mars,  
 A vapour rises, wrapt in turbid mists,  
 And sharp and eager driveth on the storm  
 With arrowy hurtling o'er Piceno's field,  
 Whence suddenly the cloud shall burst, and strike  
 Each helpless Bianco prostrate to the ground.  
 This have I told, that grief may rend thy heart."

## CANTO XXV.

### ARGUMENT.

The sacrilegious Fucci vents his fury in blasphemy, is seized by serpents, and flying is pursued by Cacus in the form of a Centaur, who is described with a swarm of serpents on his haunch, and a dragon on his shoulders breathing forth fire. Our Poet then meets with the spirits of three of his countrymen, two of whom undergo a marvellous transformation in his presence.

WHEN he had spoke, the sinner raised his hands<sup>2</sup>  
 Pointed in mockery, and cried: "Take them, God!

laws and people will be changed." <sup>1</sup> *From Valdimagra.*] The commentators explain this prophetic threat to allude to the victory obtained by the Marquis Morello Malaspina of Valdimagra, (a tract of country now called the Lunigiana,) who put himself at the head of the Neri, and defeated their opponents, the Bianchi, in the Campo Piceno near Pistoia, soon after the occurrence related in the preceding note on v. 142. Of this engagement I find no mention in Villani. Balbo (*Vita di Dante*, v. ii. p. 143.) refers to Gerini, *Memorie Storiche di Lunigiana*, tom. ii. p. 123. for the whole history of this Morello or Moroello. Currado Malaspina is introduced in the eighth Canto of the Purgatory; where it appears, that although on the present occasion they espoused contrary sides, most important favours were nevertheless conferred by that family on our Poet, at a subsequent period of his exile, in 1307.

<sup>2</sup> *His hands.*] Le mani alzò, con ambeduo le fische.

So Frezzi: E fe le fische a Dio 'l superbo vermo.

*Il Quadrir.* lib. ii. cap. xix.

Io vidi l'ira poi con crudel faccia;

E fe le fische a Dio il mostro rio,

Stringendo i denti ed alzando le braccia. *Ib.* lib. iii. c. x.

And Trissino: Poi facea con le man le fische al cielo

Dicendo: Togli, Iddio; che puoi più farmi?

*L'Ital. Liberata*, c. xii.

"The practice of thrusting out the thumb between the first and second fingers, to express the feelings of insult and contempt, has prevailed very generally among the nations of Europe, and for many ages had been denominated 'making the fig,' or described at least by some equivalent expression." *Douce's Illustrations of Shakspeare*, vol. i. p. 492. ed. 1807. The passage in the original text has not escaped this diligent commentator

I level them at thee." From that day forth  
 The serpents were my friends ; for round his neck  
 One of them rolling twisted, as it said,  
 " Be silent, tongue !" Another, to his arms  
 Upgliding, tied them, riveting itself  
 So close, it took from them the power to move.

Pistoia ! ah, Pistoia ! why dost doubt  
 To turn thee into ashes, cumbering earth  
 No longer, since in evil act so far  
 Thou hast outdone thy seed<sup>1</sup>? I did not mark,  
 Through all the gloomy circles of the abyss,  
 Spirit, that swell'd so proudly 'gainst his God ;  
 Not him<sup>2</sup>, who headlong fell from Thebes. He fled,  
 Nor utter'd more ; and after him there came  
 A centaur full of fury, shouting, " Where,  
 Where is the caitiff?" On Maremma's marsh<sup>3</sup>  
 Swarm not the serpent tribe, as on his haunch  
 They swarm'd, to where the human face begins.  
 Behind his head, upon the shoulders, lay  
 With open wings a dragon, breathing fire  
 On whomso'er he met. To me my guide :  
 " Cacus<sup>4</sup> is this, who underneath the rock  
 Of Aventine spread oft a lake of blood.  
 He, from his brethren parted, here must tread  
 A different journey, for his fraudulent theft  
 Of the great herd that near him stall'd ; whence found  
 His felon deeds their end, beneath the mace  
 Of stout Alcides, that perchance laid on  
 A hundred blows<sup>5</sup>, and not the tenth was felt."  
 While yet he spake, the centaur sped away :  
 And under us three spirits came, of whom  
 Nor I nor he was ware, till they exclaim'd,  
 " Say who are ye !" We then brake off discourse,  
 Intent on these alone. I knew them not :  
 But, as it chanceth oft, befel, that one  
 Had need to name another. " Where," said he,

<sup>1</sup> *Thy seed.*] Thy ancestry.      <sup>2</sup> *Not him.*] Capaneus. Canto xiv.

<sup>3</sup> *On Maremma's marsh.*] An extensive tract near the sea-shore of Tuscany.      <sup>4</sup> *Cacus.*] Virgil. *Æn.* lib. viii. 193.      <sup>5</sup> *A hundred blows.*] Less than ten blows, out of the hundred Hercules gave him, had deprived him of feeling.



"Doth Cianfa<sup>1</sup> lurk?" I, for a sign my guide  
 Should stand attentive, placed against my lips  
 The finger lifted. If, O reader! now  
 Thou be not apt to credit what I tell,  
 No marvel; for myself do scarce allow  
 The witness of mine eyes. But as I look'd  
 Toward them, lo! a serpent with six feet  
 Springs forth on one, and fastens full upon him:  
 His midmost grasp'd the belly, a forefoot  
 Seized on each arm (while deep in either cheek<sup>2</sup>  
 He flesh'd his fangs); the hinder on the thighs  
 Were spread, 'twixt which the tail inserted curl'd  
 Upon the reins behind. Ivy ne'er clasp'd<sup>3</sup>  
 A dodder'd oak, as round the other's limbs  
 The hideous monster intertwined his own.  
 Then, as they both had been of burning wax,  
 Each melted into other, mingling hues,  
 That which was either now was seen no more.  
 Thus up the shrinking paper<sup>4</sup>, ere it burns,  
 A brown tint glides, not turning yet to black,  
 And the clean white expires. The other two  
 Look'd on, exclaiming, "Ah! how dost thou change,  
 Agnello<sup>5</sup>! See! Thou art nor double now,

<sup>1</sup> *Cianfa.*] He is said to have been of the family of Donati at Florence.

<sup>2</sup> *In either cheek.*] Ostendit mihi post hoc apostolus lacum magnum tetrum, et aquæ sulphureæ plenum, in quo animarum multitudo demersa est, plenum serpentibus, ac scorpionibus; stabant vero ibi et dæmones serpentes tenentes et ora vultus et capita hominum cum eisdem serpentibus percutientes. *Alberici Visio*, § 23.

<sup>3</sup> *Ivy ne'er clasp'd.*] Ὅποῖα κισσὸς ὀρνὸς ὕπνω τῇσδ' ἔξομαι.

*Euripides, Hecuba*, v. 102.

Like ivy to an oak, how will I cling to her!

<sup>4</sup> *Thus up the shrinking paper.*] Many of the commentators suppose that by "papiro" is here meant the wick of a lamp or candle, and Lombardi adduces an extract from Pier Crescenzo (*Agricolt. lib. vi. cap. ix.*) to show that this use was then made of the plant. But Tiraboschi has proved that paper made of linen came into use towards the latter half of the fourteenth century, and that the inventor of it was Pier da Fabiano, who carried on his manufactory in the city of Trevigi; whereas paper of cotton, with, perhaps, some linen mixed, was used during the twelfth century. *Stor. della Lett. Ital.* tom. v. lib. i. cap. iv. sect. 4.

— All my bowels crumble up to dust.

I am a scribbled form, drawn with a pen

Upon a parchment; and against this fire

Do I shrink up.

*Shakspeare, K. John*, act v. sc. 7.

<sup>5</sup> *Agnello.*] Agnello Brunelleschi.

Nor only one." The two heads now became  
 One, and two figures blended in one form  
 Appear'd, where both were lost. Of the four lengths  
 Two arms were made: the belly and the chest,  
 The thighs and legs, into such members changed  
 As never eye hath seen. Of former shape  
 All trace was vanish'd. Two, yet neither, seem'd  
 That image miscreate, and so pass'd on  
 With tardy steps. As underneath the scourge  
 Of the fierce dog-star that lays bare the fields,  
 Shifting from brake to brake the lizard seems  
 A flash of lightning, if he thwart the road;  
 So toward the entrails of the other two  
 Approaching seem'd an adder all on fire,  
 As the dark pepper-grain livid and swart.  
 In that part<sup>1</sup>, whence our life is nourish'd first,  
 One he transpierced; then down before him fell  
 Stretch'd out. The pierced spirit look'd on him,  
 But spake not; yea, stood motionless and yawn'd,  
 As if by sleep or feverous fit assail'd<sup>2</sup>.  
 He eyed the serpent, and the serpent him.  
 One from the wound, the other from the mouth  
 Breathed a thick smoke, whose vapoury columns join'd.  
 Lucan<sup>3</sup> in mute attention now may hear,  
 Nor thy disastrous fate, Sabellus, tell,  
 Nor thine, Nasidius. Ovid<sup>4</sup> now be mute.  
 What if in warbling fiction he record  
 Cadmus and Arethusa, to a snake  
 Him changed, and her into a fountain clear,  
 I envy not; for never face to face  
 Two natures thus transmuted did he sing,  
 Wherein both shapes were ready to assume  
 The other's substance. They in mutual guise

<sup>1</sup> *In that part.*] The navel.

<sup>2</sup> *As if by sleep or feverous fit assail'd.*]

— O Rome! thy head

Is drown'd in sleep, and all thy body fever'y. *Ben Jonson's Catiline.*

<sup>3</sup> *Lucan.*] Phars. lib. ix. 766 and 793.

Lucan di alcun di questi poetando

Conta sì come Sabello e Nasidio

Fù punti e trasformati ivi passando.

*Fazio degli Uberti, Dittamondo, l. v. cap. xvii.*

<sup>4</sup> *Ovid.*] *Metam. lib. iv. and v.*

So answer'd, that the serpent split his train  
 Divided to a fork, and the pierced spirit  
 Drew close his steps together, legs and thighs  
 Compacted, that no sign of juncture soon  
 Was visible : the tail, disparted, took  
 The figure which the spirit lost ; its skin  
 Softening, his indurated to a rind.  
 The shoulders next I mark'd, that entering join'd  
 The monster's arm-pits, whose two shorter feet  
 So lengthen'd, as the others dwindling shrunk.  
 The feet behind then twisting up became  
 That part that man conceals, which in the wretch  
 Was cleft in twain. While both the shadowy smoke  
 With a new colour veils, and generates  
 The excrescent pile on one, peeling it off  
 From the other body, lo ! upon his feet  
 One upright rose, and prone the other fell.  
 Nor yet their glaring and malignant lamps  
 Were shifted, though each feature changed beneath.  
 Of him who stood erect, the mounting face  
 Retreated towards the temples, and what there  
 Superfluous matter came, shot out in ears  
 From the smooth cheeks ; the rest, not backward dragg'd,  
 Of its excess did shape the nose ; and swell'd  
 Into due size protuberant the lips.  
 He, on the earth who lay, meanwhile extends  
 His sharpen'd visage<sup>1</sup>, and draws down the ears  
 Into the head, as doth the slug his horns.  
 His tongue, continuous before and apt  
 For utterance, severs ; and the other's fork  
 Closing unites. That done, the smoke was laid.  
 The soul, transform'd into the brute, glides off,  
 Hissing along the vale, and after him  
 The other talking sputters ; but soon turn'd  
 His new-grown shoulders on him, and in few  
 Thus to another spake : " Along this path  
 Crawling, as I have done, speed Buoso<sup>2</sup> now !"  
 So saw I fluctuate in successive change

<sup>1</sup> *His sharpen'd visage.*] Compare Milton, P. L. b. x. 511, &c. <sup>2</sup> *Buoso.*] He is also said by some to have been of the Donati family ; but by others of the Abbati.

The unsteady ballast of the seventh hold :  
 And here if aught my pen<sup>1</sup> have swerved, events  
 So strange may be its warrant. O'er mine eyes  
 Confusion hung, and on my thoughts amaze.

Yet scaped they not so covertly, but well  
 I mark'd Sciancato<sup>2</sup>: he alone it was  
 Of the three first that came, who changed not: thou  
 The other's fate, Gaville<sup>3</sup>! still dost rue.

~~~~~  
 CANTO XXVI.
 ———

ARGUMENT.

Remounting by the steps, down which they had descended to the seventh gulf, they go forward to the arch that stretches over the eighth, and from thence behold numberless flames wherein are punished the evil counselors, each flame containing a sinner, save one, in which were Diomedes and Ulysses, the latter of whom relates the manner of his death.

FLORENCE, exult! for thou so mightily
 Hast thriven, that o'er land and sea⁴ thy wings
 Thou beatest, and thy name spreads over hell.
 Among the plunderers, such the three I found
 Thy citizens; whence shame to me thy son,
 And no proud honour to thyself redounds.

But if our minds⁵, when dreaming near the dawn,
 Are of the truth presageful, thou ere long
 Shalt feel what Prato⁶ (not to say the rest)

¹ *My pen.*] Lombardi justly prefers "la penna" to "la lingua;" but, when he tells us that the former is in the Nidobeatina, and the latter in the other editions, he ought to have excepted at least Landino's of 1484, and Vellutello's of 1544, and, perhaps, many besides these. ² *Sciancato.*] Puccio Sciancato, a noted robber, whose family, Venturi says, he has not been able to discover. The Latin annotator on the Monte Casino MS. informs us that he was one of the Galigai of Florence, the decline of which house is mentioned in the Paradise, Canto xvi. 96. ³ *Gaville.*] Francesco Guercio Cavalcante was killed at Gaville, near Florence; and in revenge of his death several inhabitants of that district were put to death.

⁴ *O'er land and sea.*]

For he can spread thy name o'er lands and seas. *Milton, Son. viii.*

⁵ *But if our minds.*]

Namque sub Auroram, jam dormitante lucernâ,

Somnia quo cerni tempore vera solent. *Ovid, Epist. xix.*

The same poetical superstition is alluded to in the Purgatory, Canto ix. and xxvii. ⁶ *Shalt feel what Prato.*] The Poet prognosticates the calamities which were soon to befall his native city, and which, he says, even her

Would fain might come upon thee ; and that chance
Were in good time, if it befel thee now.

Would so it were, since it must needs befall !
For as time¹ wears me, I shall grieve the more.

We from the depth departed ; and my guide
Remounting scaled the flinty steps², which late
We downward traced, and drew me up the steep.
Pursuing thus our solitary way
Among the crags and splinters of the rock,
Sped not our feet without the help of hands.

Then sorrow seized me, which e'en now revives,
As my thought turns again to what I saw,
And, more than I am wont³, I rein and curb
The powers of nature in me, lest they run
Where Virtue guides not ; that, if aught of good
My gentle star or something better gave me,
I envy not myself the precious boon.

As in that season, when the sun least veils
His face that lightens all, what time the fly
Gives way to the shrill gnat, the peasant then,
Upon some cliff reclined, beneath him sees
Fire-flies innumerable spangling o'er the vale,
Vineyard or tilth, where his day-labour lies ;
With flames so numberless throughout its space
Shone the eighth chasm, apparent, when the depth
Was to my view exposed. As he, whose wrongs⁴

nearest neighbour, Prato, would wish her. The calamities more particularly pointed at are said to be the fall of a wooden bridge over the Arno, in May, 1304, where a large multitude were assembled to witness a representation of hell and the infernal torments, in consequence of which accident many lives were lost ; and a conflagration, that in the following month destroyed more than seventeen hundred houses, many of them sumptuous buildings. See G. Villani, Hist. lib. viii. c. lxx. and lxxi. ¹ *As time.*] "I shall feel all calamities more sensibly as I am further advanced in life." ² *The flinty steps.*] Venturi, after Daniello and Volpi, explains the word in the original, "borni," to mean the stones that project from a wall, for other buildings to be joined to, which the workmen call "toothings." ³ *More than I am wont.*] "When I reflect on the punishment allotted to those who do not give sincere and upright advice to others, I am more anxious than ever not to abuse to so bad a purpose those talents, whatever they may be, which Nature, or rather Providence, has conferred on me." It is probable that this declaration was the result of real feeling in the mind of Dante, whose political character would have given great weight to any opinion or party he had espoused, and to whom indigence and exile might have offered strong temptations to deviate from that line of conduct, which a strict sense of duty prescribed. ⁴ *As he, whose wrongs.*] Kings, b. ii. c. ii.

The bears avenged, at its departure saw
 Elijah's chariot, when the steeds erect
 Raised their steep flight for heaven; his eyes, meanwhile,
 Straining pursued them, till the flame alone,
 Upsoaring like a misty speck, he kenn'd :
 E'en thus along the gulf moves every flame,
 A sinner so enfolded close in each,
 That none exhibits token of the theft.

Upon the bridge I forward bent to look,
 And grasp'd a flinty mass, or else had fallen,
 Though push'd not from the height. The guide, who mark'd
 How I did gaze attentive, thus began :
 "Within these ardours are the spirits, each
 Swathed in confining fire."—"Master! thy word,"
 I answer'd, "hath assured me; yet I deem'd
 Already of the truth, already wish'd
 To ask thee who is in yon fire, that comes
 So parted at the summit, as it seem'd
 Ascending from that funeral pile¹ where lay
 The Theban brothers." He replied: "Within,
 Ulysses there and Diomedes endure
 Their penal tortures, thus to vengeance now
 Together hasting, as erewhile to wrath.
 These in the flame with ceaseless groans deplore
 The ambush of the horse², that open'd wide
 A portal for that goodly seed to pass,
 Which sow'd imperial Rome; nor less the guile
 Lament they, whence, of her Achilles 'reft,
 Deidamia yet in death complains.
 And there is rued the stratagem that Troy
 Of her Palladium spoil'd."—"If they have power
 Of utterance from within these sparks," said I,

¹ *Ascending from that funeral pile.*] The flame is said to have divided on the funeral pile which consumed the bodies of Eteocles and Polynices, as if conscious of the enmity that actuated them while living.

Ecce iterum fratris primos ut contigit artus
 Ignis edax, tremuere rogi, et novus advena busto
 Pellitur, exundant diviso vertice flammæ,

Alternosque apices abruptâ luce coruscant. *Statius, Theb. lib. xii.*
 Compare Lucan, *Pharsal. lib. i.* 145.

² *The ambush of the horse.*] "The ambush of the wooden horse, that caused Æneas to quit the city of Troy and seek his fortune in Italy, where his descendants founded the Roman empire."

“O master ! think my prayer a thousand-fold
In repetition urged, that thou vouchsafe
To pause till here the horned flame arrive.
See, how toward it with desire I bend.”

He thus : “Thy prayer is worthy of much praise,
And I accept it therefore ; but do thou
Thy tongue refrain : to question them be mine ;
For I divine thy wish ; and they perchance,
For they were Greeks¹, might shun discourse with thee.”

When there the flame had come, where time and place
Seem'd fitting to my guide, he thus began :

“O ye, who dwell two spirits in one fire !
If, living, I of you did merit aught,
Whate'er the measure were of that desert,
When in the world my lofty strain I pour'd,
Move ye not on, till one of you unfold
In what clime death o'ertook him self-destroy'd.”

Of the old flame forthwith the greater horn
Began to roll, murmuring, as a fire
That labours with the wind, then to and fro
Wagging the top, as a tongue uttering sounds,
Threw out its voice, and spake : “When I escaped
From Circe, who beyond a circling year
Had held me near Caieta² by her charms,
Ere thus Æneas yet had named the shore ;
Nor fondness for my son³, nor reverence
Of my old father, nor return of love,
That should have crown'd Penelope with joy,
Could overcome in me the zeal I had
To explore the world, and search the ways of life,
Man's evil and his virtue. Forth I sail'd

¹ *For they were Greeks.*] By this it is, perhaps, implied that they were haughty and arrogant. So, in our Poet's twenty-fourth Sonnet, of which a translation is inserted in the Life prefixed, he says,

Ed ella mi rispose, come un Greco.

² *Caieta.*] Virgil, *Æneid*, lib. vii. 1.

³ *Nor fondness for my son.*] Imitated by Tasso, G. L. c. viii. st. 7.

Ne timor di fatica ò di periglio, Del vecchio genitor, sì degno affetto

Ne vaghezza del regno, ne pietade Intiepedir nel generoso petto.

This imagined voyage of Ulysses into the Atlantic is alluded to by Pulci :—

E soprattutto commendava Ulisse,

Che per veder nell' altro mondo gisse. *Morg. Magg.* c. xxv.

And by Tasso, G. L. c. xv. 25.

Into the deep illimitable main,
 With but one bark, and the small faithful band
 That yet cleaved to me. As Iberia far,
 Far as Marocco, either shore I saw,
 And the Sardinian and each isle beside
 Which round that ocean bathes. Tardy with age
 Were I and my companions, when we came
 To the strait pass¹, where Hercules ordain'd
 The boundaries not to be o'erstepp'd by man.
 The walls of Seville to my right I left,
 On the other hand already Ceuta past.
 'O brothers !' I began, 'who to the west
 'Through perils without number now have reach'd ;
 'To this the short remaining watch, that yet
 'Our senses have to wake, refuse not proof
 'Of the unpeopled world, following the track
 'Of Phœbus. Call to mind from whence ye sprang :
 'Ye were not form'd to live the life of brutes,
 'But virtue to pursue and knowledge high.'
 With these few words I sharpen'd for the voyage
 The mind of my associates, that I then
 Could scarcely have withheld them. To the dawn
 Our poop we turn'd, and for the witless flight
 Made our oars wings², still gaining on the left.
 Each star of the other pole night now beheld³,
 And ours so low, that from the ocean floor
 It rose not. Five times re-illumed, as oft
 Vanish'd the light from underneath the moon,
 Since the deep way we enter'd, when from far
 Appear'd a mountain dim⁴, loftiest methought

¹ *The strait pass.*] The straits of Gibraltar.

² *Made our oars wings.*]

Οὐδ' εὐήρε' ἐρετμά, τὰ τε πτερὰ νηυσὶ πέλονται. *Hom. Od. xi. 124.*
 Jo Chiabrera, *Canz. Eroiche. xiii.* Farò de' remi un volo.
 And Tasso, *Ibid. 26.*

³ *Night now beheld.*] Petrarch is here cited by Lombardi:—

Ne là su sopra il cerchio della luna
 Vide mai tante stelle alcuna notte. *Canz. xxxvii. 1.*
 Nor there above the circle of the moon
 Did ever night behold so many stars.

⁴ *A mountain dim.*] The mountain of Purgatory.—Amongst the various opinions of theologians respecting the situation of the terrestrial paradise, Pietro Lombardo relates, that "it was separated by a long space, either of sea or land, from the regions inhabited by men, and placed in the ocean,

Of all I e'er beheld. Joy seized us straight ;
 But soon to mourning changed. From the new land
 A whirlwind sprung, and at her foremost side
 Did strike the vessel. Thrice¹ it whirl'd her round
 With all the waves ; the fourth time lifted up
 The poop, and sank the prow : so fate decreed :
 And over us the booming billow closed²."

CANTO XXVII.

ARGUMENT.

The Poet, treating of the same punishment as in the last Canto, relates that he turned towards a flame in which was the Count Guido da Montefeltro, whose inquiries respecting the state of Romagna he answers ; and Guido is thereby induced to declare who he is, and why condemned to that torment.

Now upward rose the flame, and still'd its light
 To speak no more, and now pass'd on with leave
 From the mild poet gain'd ; when following came
 Another, from whose top a sound confused,
 Forth issuing, drew our eyes that way to look.

As the Sicilian bull³, that rightfully
 His cries first echoed who had shaped its mould,
 Did so rebellow, with the voice of him
 Tormented, that the brazen monster seem'd
 Pierced through with pain ; thus, while no way they found,
 Nor avenue immediate through the flame,
 Into its language turn'd the dismal words :

reaching as far as to the lunar circle, so that the waters of the deluge did not reach it." *Sent.* lib. ii. dist. 17. Thus Lombardi.

¹ *Thrice.*] — Ast illum ter fluctus ibidem

Torquet agens circum, et rapidus vorat æquore vortex.

Virg. Æn. lib. i. 116.

² *Closed.*] Venturi refers to Pliny and Solinus for the opinion that Ulysses was the founder of Lisbon, from whence he thinks it was easy for the fancy of a poet to send him on yet further enterprises. Perhaps the story (which it is not unlikely that our author will be found to have borrowed from some legend of the middle ages) may have taken its rise partly from the obscure oracle returned by the ghost of Tiresias to Ulysses, (see the eleventh book of the *Odyssey*,) and partly from the fate which there was reason to suppose had befallen some adventurous explorers of the Atlantic ocean.

³ *The Sicilian bull.*] The engine of torture invented by Perillus, for the tyrant Phalaris.

But soon as they had won their passage forth,
 Up from the point, which vibrating obey'd
 Their motion at the tongue, these sounds were heard :
 "O thou ! to whom I now direct my voice,
 That lately didst exclaim in Lombard phrase,
 ' Depart thou ; I solicit thee no more ;'
 Though somewhat tardy I perchance arrive,
 Let it not irk thee here to pause awhile,
 And with me parley : lo ! it irks not me,
 And yet I burn. If but e'en now thou fall
 Into this blind world, from that pleasant land
 Of Latium, whence I draw my sum of guilt,
 Tell me if those who in Romagna dwell
 Have peace or war. For of the mountains there¹
 Was I, betwixt Urbino and the height
 Whence Tiber first unlocks his mighty flood."

Leaning I listen'd yet with heedful ear,
 When, as he touch'd my side, the leader thus :
 "Speak thou : he is a Latian." My reply
 Was ready, and I spake without delay :
 "O spirit ! who art hidden here below,
 Never was thy Romagna without war
 In her proud tyrants' bosoms, nor is now :
 But open war there left I none. The state,
 Ravenna hath maintain'd this many a year,
 Is stedfast. There Polenta's eagle² broods ;

¹ *Of the mountains there.*] Montefeltro. ² *Polenta's eagle.*] Guido Novello da Polenta, who bore an eagle for his coat of arms. The name of Polenta was derived from a castle so called, in the neighbourhood of Brittonoro. Cervia is a small maritime city, about fifteen miles to the south of Ravenna. Guido was the son of Ostasio da Polenta, and made himself master of Ravenna in 1265. In 1322 he was deprived of his sovereignty, and died at Bologna in the year following. This last and most munificent patron of Dante is himself enumerated, by the historian of Italian literature, among the poets of his time. Tiraboschi, *Storia della Lett. Ital.* tom. v. lib. iii. c. ii. sect. 13. The passage in the text might have removed the uncertainty which Tiraboschi expressed, respecting the duration of Guido's absence from Ravenna, when he was driven from that city in 1295, by the arms of Pietro, archbishop of Monreale. It must evidently have been very short, since his government is here represented (in 1300) as not having suffered any material disturbance for many years. In the Proëmium to the Annotations on the Decameron of Boccaccio, written by those who were deputed to that work, Ediz. Giunti, 1573, it is said of Guido Novello, "del quale si leggono ancora alcune composizioni, per poche che elle sieno, secondo quella età, belle e leggiadre:" and in the collection

And in his broad circumference of plume
O'ershadows Cervia. The green talons grasp
The land¹, that stood erewhile the proof so long
And piled in bloody heap the host of France.

"The old mastiff of Verruchio and the young²,
That tore Montagna³ in their wrath, still make,
Where they are wont, an augre of their fangs.

"Lamone's city, and Santerno's⁴, range
Under the lion of the snowy lair⁵,
Inconstant partisan, that changeth sides,
Or ever summer yields to winter's frost.
And she, whose flank is wash'd of Savio's wave⁶,
As 'twixt the level and the steep she lies,
Lives so 'twixt tyrant power and liberty.

"Now tell us, I entreat thee, who art thou :
Be not more hard than others. In the world,
So may thy name still rear its forehead high."

edited by Allacci at Naples, 1661, p. 382, is a sonnet of his, which breathes a high and pure spirit of Platonism. Among the MSS. of the Iliad in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, described by Mai, there is one that was in the possession of Guido. *Iliadis Fragmenta*, &c. fol. Mediol. 1819. Proœmium, p. xlviii. It was, perhaps, seen by Dante. To this account I must now subjoin that which has since been given, but without any reference to authorities, by Troya: "In the course of eight years, from 1310 to 1318, Guido III. of Polenta, father of Francesca, together with his sons Bernardino and Ostasio, had died. A third son, named Bannino, was father of Guido IV. Of these two it is not known whether they held the lordship of Ravenna. But it came to the sons of Ostasio, Guido V. called Novello, and Rinaldo the archbishop: on the sons of Bernardino devolved the sovereignty of the neighbouring city of Cervia." *Veltro Allegorico di Dante*, ed. 1826, p. 176.

¹ *The land.*] The territory of Forli, the inhabitants of which, in 1282, were enabled, by the stratagem of Guido da Montefeltro, who then governed it, to defeat with great slaughter the French army by which it had been besieged. See G. Villani, lib. vii. c. lxxxi. The Poet informs Guido, its former ruler, that it is now in the possession of Sinibaldo Ordelaffi, or Ardelaffi, whom he designates by his coat of arms, a lion vert. ² *The old mastiff of Verruchio and the young.*] Malatesta and Malatestino his son, lords of Rimini, called, from their ferocity, the mastiffs of Verruchio, which was the name of their castle. Malatestino was, perhaps, the husband of Francesca, daughter of Guido da Polenta. See notes to Canto v. 113. ³ *Montagna.*] Montagna de' Parcitati, a noble knight, and leader of the Ghibelline party at Rimini, murdered by Malatestino. ⁴ *Lamone's city and Santerno's.*] Lamone is the river at Faenza, and Santerno at Imola. ⁵ *The lion of the snowy lair.*] Machinarado Pagano, whose arms were a lion azure on a field argent; mentioned again in the Purgatory, Canto xiv. 122. See G. Villani passim, where he is called Machinarado da Susinana. ⁶ *Whose flank is wash'd of Savio's wave.*] Cesena, situated at the foot of a mountain, and washed by the river Savio, that often descends with a swoln and rapid stream from the Apennine.

Then roar'd awhile the fire, its sharpen'd point
 On either side waved, and thus breathed at last :
 " If I did think my answer were to one
 Who ever could return unto the world,
 This flame should rest unshaken. But since ne'er,
 If true be told me, any from this depth
 Has found his upward way, I answer thee,
 Nor fear lest infamy record the words.

" A man of arms¹ at first, I clothed me then
 In good Saint Francis' girdle, hoping so
 To have made amends. And certainly my hope
 Had fail'd not, but that he, whom curses light on,
 The high priest², again seduced me into sin.
 And how, and wherefore, listen while I tell.
 Long as this spirit moved the bones and pulp
 My mother gave me, less my deeds bespake
 The nature of the lion than the fox³.
 All ways of winding subtlety I knew,
 And with such art conducted, that the sound
 Reach'd the world's limit. Soon as to that part
 Of life I found me come, when each behoves
 To lower sails⁴ and gather in the lines ;
 That, which before had pleased me, then I rued,

¹ *A man of arms.*] Guido da Montefeltro.

² *The high priest.*] Boniface VIII.

³ *The nature of the lion than the fox.*] Non furon leonine ma di volpe.
 So Pulci, Morg. Magg. c. xix.:

E furon le sue opre e le sue colpe
 Non creder leonine ma di volpe.

Fraus quasi vulpeculæ, vis leonis videtur. *Cicero de Officiis*, lib. i. c. 13.

⁴ *To lower sails.*] Our Poet had the same train of thought as when he wrote that most beautiful passage in his *Convito*, beginning "E qui è da sapere, che siccome dice Tullio in quello di Senettute, la naturale morte, &c." p. 209. "As it hath been said by Cicero, in his treatise on old age, natural death is like a port and haven to us after a long voyage ; and even as the good mariner, when he draws near the port, lowers his sails, and enters it softly with a weak and inoffensive motion, so ought we to lower the sails of our worldly operations, and to return to God with all our understanding and heart, to the end that we may reach this haven with all quietness and with all peace. And herein we are mightily instructed by nature in a lesson of mildness ; for in such a death itself there is neither pain nor bitterness ; but, as ripe fruit is lightly and without violence loosened from its branch, so our soul without grieving departs from the body in which it hath been."

So mayst thou live, till like ripe fruit thou drop
 Into thy mother's lap, or be with ease
 Gather'd, not harshly pluck'd, for death mature.

Milton, *P. L. b. xi. 587.*

And to repentance and confession turn'd,
 Wretch that I was ; and well it had bested me.
 The chief of the new Pharisees¹ meantime,
 Waging his warfare near the Lateran,
 Not with the Saracens or Jews, (his foes
 All Christians were, nor against Acre one
 Had fought², nor traffick'd in the Soldan's land,)
 He, his great charge nor sacred ministry,
 In himself revered, nor in me that cord
 Which used to mark with leanness whom it girded.
 As in Soracte, Constantine besought³,

¹ *The chief of the new Pharisees.*] Boniface VIII., whose enmity to the family of Colonna prompted him to destroy their houses near the Lateran. Wishing to obtain possession of their other seat, Penestrino, he consulted with Guido da Montefeltro how he might accomplish his purpose, offering him at the same time absolution for his past sins, as well as for that which he was then tempting him to commit. Guido's advice was, that kind words and fair promises would put his enemies into his power; and they accordingly soon afterwards fell into the snare laid for them, A. D. 1298. See G. Villani, lib. viii. c. xxiii. There is a relation similar to this in the history of Ferreto Vincentino, lib. ii. anno 1294; and the writer adds, that our Poet had justly condemned Guido to the torments he has allotted him. See Muratori, Script. Ital. tom. ix. p. 970, where the Editor observes: "Probosi hujus facinoris narrationi fidem adjungere nemo probus velit, quod facile confinxerint Bonifacii æmuli, &c." And indeed it would seem as if Dante himself had either not heard, or had not believed, the report of Guido's having sold himself thus foolishly to the Pope, when he wrote the passage in the *Convito* cited in the note to v. 76; for he soon after speaks of him as one of those noble spirits "who, when they approached the last haven, lowered the sails of their worldly operations, and gave themselves up to religion in their old age, laying aside every worldly delight and wish."

² — *Nor against Acre one*

Had fought.] He alludes to the renegade Christians, by whom the Saracens, in April, 1291, were assisted to recover St. John d'Acre, the last possession of the Christians in the Holy Land. The regret expressed by the Florentine annalist, G. Villani, for the loss of this valuable fortress, is well worthy of observation, lib. vii. c. cxliv. "From this event Christendom suffered the greatest detriment: for by the loss of Acre there no longer remained in the Holy Land any footing for the Christians; and all our good maritime places of trade never afterwards derived half the advantage from their merchandise and manufactures; so favourable was the situation of the city of Acre, in the very front of our sea, in the middle of Syria, and as it were in the middle of the inhabited world, seventy miles from Jerusalem, both source and receptacle of every kind of merchandise, as well from the east as from the west; the resort of all people from all countries, and of the eastern nations of every different tongue; so that it might be considered as the alimēt of the world." ³ *As in Soracte, Constantine besought.*] So in Dante's treatise *De Monarchiâ*: "Dicunt quidam adhuc, quod Constantinus Imperator mundatus a leprâ intercessione Sylvestri, tunc summi pontificis, imperiî sedem, scilicet Romam, donavit ecclesiæ, cum multis aliis imperiî dignitatibus." Lib. iii. Compare *Fazio degli Uberti, Dittamondo*, lib. ii. cap. xii.

To cure his leprosy, Sylvester's aid ;
 So me, to cure the fever of his pride,
 This man besought : my counsel to that end
 He ask'd ; and I was silent ; for his words
 Seem'd drunken : but forthwith he thus resumed :
 ' From thy heart banish fear : of all offence
 ' I hitherto absolve thee. In return,
 ' Teach me my purpose so to execute,
 ' That Penestrino cumber earth no more.
 ' Heaven, as thou knowest, I have power to shut
 ' And open : and the keys are therefore twain,
 ' The which my predecessor¹ meanly prized.'

" Then, yielding to the forceful arguments,
 Of silence as more perilous I deem'd,
 And answer'd : ' Father ! since thou washest me
 ' Clear of that guilt wherein I now must fall,
 ' Large promise with performance scant, be sure,
 ' Shall make thee triumph in thy lofty seat.'

" When I was number'd with the dead, then came
 Saint Francis for me ; but a cherub dark
 He met, who cried, ' Wrong me not ; he is mine,
 ' And must below to join the wretched crew,
 ' For the deceitful counsel which he gave.
 ' E'er since I watch'd him, hovering at his hair.
 ' No power can the impenitent absolve ;
 ' Nor to repent, and will, at once consist,
 ' By contradiction absolute forbid.'
 Oh misery ! how I shook myself, when he
 Seized me, and cried, ' Thou haply thought'st me not
 ' A disputant in logic so exact !'
 To Minos down he bore me ; and the judge
 Twined eight times round his callous back the tail,
 Which biting with excess of rage, he spake :
 ' This is a guilty soul, that in the fire
 ' Must vanish.' Hence, perdition-doom'd, I rove
 A prey to rankling sorrow, in this garb."

When he had thus fulfill'd his words, the flame
 In dolour parted, beating to and fro,
 And writhing its sharp horn. We onward went,

¹ *My predecessor.*] Celestine V. See notes to Canto iii.

I and my leader, up along the rock,
 Far as another arch, that overhangs
 The foss, wherein the penalty is paid
 Of those who load them with committed sin.

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CANTO XXVIII.

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ARGUMENT.

They arrive in the ninth gulf, where the sowers of scandal, schismatics, and heretics, are seen with their limbs miserably maimed or divided in different ways. Among these the Poet finds Mahomet, Piero da Medicina, Curio, Mosca, and Bertrand de Born.

WHO, e'en in words unfetter'd, might at full  
 Tell of the wounds and blood that now I saw,  
 Though he repeated oft the tale? No tongue  
 So vast a theme could equal, speech and thought  
 Both impotent alike. If in one band  
 Collected, stood the people all, who e'er  
 Pour'd on Apulia's happy soil<sup>1</sup> their blood,  
 Slain by the Trojans<sup>2</sup>, and in that long war<sup>3</sup>,  
 When of the rings<sup>4</sup> the measured booty made  
 A pile so high, as Rome's historian writes  
 Who errs not; with the multitude, that felt

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<sup>1</sup> *Happy soil.*] There is a strange discordance here among the expounders. "Fortunata terra." Because of the vicissitudes of fortune which it experienced: Landino. Fortunate, with respect to those who conquered in it: Vellutello. Or on account of its natural fertility: Venturi. The context requires that we should understand, by "fortunata," "calamitous," "disgraziata," to which sense the word is extended in the Vocabulary of La Crusca: Lombardi. Volpi is silent. On this note the late Archdeacon Fisher favoured me with the following remark: "Volpi is, indeed, silent at the passage; but in the article "Puglia," in his second Index, he writes, Dante la chiama fortunata, cioè pingue e feconda. This is your own translation; and is the same word in meaning with εὐδαίμων and felix, in Xenophon's Anabasis and Horace passim." <sup>2</sup> *The Trojans.*] Some MSS. have "Romani;" and Lombardi has admitted it into the text. Venturi had, indeed, before met with the same reading in some edition, but he has not told us in which. <sup>3</sup> *In that long war.*] The war of Hannibal in Italy. "When Mago brought news of his victories to Carthage, in order to make his successes more easily credited, he commanded the golden rings to be poured out in the senate-house, which made so large a heap, that, as some relate, they filled three modii and a half. A more probable account represents them not to have exceeded one modius." *Livy, Hist. lib. xxiii. 12.*

<sup>4</sup> *The rings.*] So Frezzi: Non quella, che riempie i moggi d'anella.  
*Il Quadrir. lib. ii. cap. 9*



The griding force of Guiscard's Norman steel<sup>1</sup>,  
 And those the rest<sup>2</sup>, whose bones are gather'd yet  
 At Ceperano, there where treachery  
 Branded the Apulian name, or where beyond  
 Thy walls, O Tagliacozzo<sup>3</sup>, without arms  
 The old Alardo conquer'd; and his limbs  
 One were to show transpierced, another his  
 Clean lopt away; a spectacle like this  
 Were but a thing of nought, to the hideous sight  
 Of the ninth chasm. A rundlet, that hath lost  
 Its middle or side stave, gapes not so wide  
 As one I mark'd, torn from the chin throughout  
 Down to the hinder passage: 'twixt the legs  
 Dangling his entrails hung, the midriff lay  
 Open to view, and wretched ventricle,  
 That turns the englutted aliment to dross.

Whilst eagerly I fix on him my gaze,  
 He eyed me, with his hands laid his breast bare,  
 And cried, "Now mark how I do rip me: lo!  
 How is Mohammed mangled: before me  
 Walks Ali<sup>4</sup> weeping, from the chin his face  
 Cleft to the forelock; and the others all,  
 Whom here thou seest, while they lived, did sow  
 Scandal and schism, and therefore thus are rent.  
 A fiend is here behind, who with his sword  
 Hacks us thus cruelly, slivering again  
 Each of this ream, when we have compast round  
 The dismal way; for first our gashes close  
 Ere we repass before him. But, say who  
 Art thou, that standest musing on the rock,  
 Haply so lingering to delay the pain  
 Sentenced upon thy crimes."—"Him death not yet,"  
 My guide rejoin'd, "hath overta'en, nor sin

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<sup>1</sup> *Guiscard's Norman steel.*] Robert Guiscard, who conquered the kingdom of Naples, and died in 1110. G. Villani, lib. iv. cap. x.iii. He is introduced in the *Paradise*, Canto xviii. <sup>2</sup> *And those the rest.*] The army of Manfredi, which, through the treachery of the Apulian troops, was overcome by Charles of Anjou in 1265, and fell in such numbers, that the bones of the slain were still gathered near Ceperano. G. Villani, lib. vii. cap. iv. See the *Purgatory*, Canto iii. <sup>3</sup> *O Tagliacozzo.*] He alludes to the victory which Charles gained over Conradino, by the sage advice of the Sieur de Valeri, in 1268. G. Villani, lib. vii. c. xxvii. <sup>4</sup> *Ali.*] The disciple of Mohammed.



Conducts to torment ; but, that he may make  
Full trial of your state, I who am dead  
Must through the depths of hell, from orb to orb,  
Conduct him. Trust my words ; for they are true.”

More than a hundred spirits, when that they heard,  
Stood in the foss to mark me, through amaze  
Forgetful of their pangs. “Thou, who perchance  
Shalt shortly view the sun, this warning thou  
Bear to Dolcino<sup>1</sup>: bid him, if he wish not  
Here soon to follow me, that with good store  
Of food he arm him, lest imprisoning snows  
Yield him a victim to Novara’s power ;  
No easy conquest else :” with foot upraised  
For stepping, spake Mohammed, on the ground  
Then fix’d it to depart. Another shade,  
Pierced in the throat, his nostrils mutilate  
E’en from beneath the eyebrows, and one ear  
Lopt off, who, with the rest, through wonder stood  
Gazing, before the rest advanced, and bared  
His wind-pipe, that without was all o’ersmear’d  
With crimson stain. “O thou !” said he, “whom sin  
Condemns not, and whom erst (unless too near  
Resemblance do deceive me) I aloft  
Have seen on Latian ground, call thou to mind  
Piero of Medicina<sup>2</sup>, if again

---

<sup>1</sup> *Dolcino*.] “In 1305, a friar, called Dolcino, who belonged to no regular order, contrived to raise in Novara, in Lombardy, a large company of the meaner sort of people, declaring himself to be a true apostle of Christ, and promulgating a community of property and of wives, with many other such heretical doctrines. He blamed the pope, cardinals, and other prelates of the holy church, for not observing their duty, nor leading the angelic life, and affirmed that he ought to be pope. He was followed by more than three thousand men and women, who lived promiscuously on the mountains together, like beasts, and, when they wanted provisions, supplied themselves by depredation and rapine. This lasted for two years, till many, being struck with compunction at the dissolute life they led, his sect was much diminished ; and, through failure of food and the severity of the snows, he was taken by the people of Novara, and burnt, with Margarita, his companion, and many other men and women whom his errors had seduced.” *G. Villani*, lib. viii. c. lxxiv. Landino observes, that he was possessed of singular eloquence, and that both he and Margarita endured their fate with a firmness worthy of a better cause. For a further account of him, see Muratori, *Rer. Ital. Script.* tom. ix. p. 427. Fazio degli Uberti, speaking of the polygamy allowed by Mahomet, adds ;

E qui con fra Dolcin par che s'intenda. *Dittamondo*, lib. v. cap. xii.  
<sup>2</sup> *Medicina*.] A place in the territory of Bologna. Piero fomented dis-

Returning, thou behold'st the pleasant land<sup>1</sup>  
 That from Vercelli slopes to Mercabò;  
 And there instruct the twain<sup>2</sup>, whom Fano boasts  
 Her worthiest sons, Guido and Angelo,  
 That if 'tis given us here to scan aright  
 The future, they out of life's tenement<sup>3</sup>  
 Shall be cast forth, and whelm'd under the waves  
 Near to Cattolica, through perfidy  
 Of a fell tyrant. 'Twixt the Cyprian isle  
 And Balearic, ne'er hath Neptune seen  
 An injury so foul, by pirates done,  
 Or Argive crew of old. That one-eyed traitor  
 (Whose realm, there is a spirit here were fain  
 His eye had still lack'd sight of) them shall bring  
 To conference with him, then so shape his end,  
 That they shall need not 'gainst Focara's wind<sup>4</sup>  
 Offer up vow nor prayer." I answering thus:  
 "Declare, as thou dost wish that I above  
 May carry tidings of thee, who is he,  
 In whom that sight doth wake such sad remembrance."  
 Forthwith he laid his hand on the cheek-bone  
 Of one, his fellow-spirit, and his jaws  
 Expanding, cried: "Lo! this is he I wot of:  
 He speaks not for himself: the outcast this,  
 Who overwhelm'd the doubt in Cæsar's mind<sup>5</sup>,

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sensions among the inhabitants of that city, and among the leaders of the neighbouring states. <sup>1</sup> *The pleasant land.*] Lombardy.

<sup>2</sup> *The twain.*] Guido del Cassero and Angiolello da Cagnano, two of the worthiest and most distinguished citizens of Fano, were invited by Malatestino da Rimini to an entertainment, on pretence that he had some important business to transact with them; and, according to instructions given by him, they were drowned in their passage near Cattolica, between Rimini and Fano.

<sup>3</sup> *Out of life's tenement.*] "Fuor di lor vasello," is construed by the old Latin annotator on the Monte Casino MS. and by Lombardi, "out of the ship." Volpi understands "vasello" to mean "their city or country." Others take the word in the sense according to which, though not without some doubt, it is rendered in this translation. <sup>4</sup> *Focara's wind.*] Focara

is a mountain, from which a wind blows that is peculiarly dangerous to the navigators of that coast. <sup>5</sup> *The doubt in Cæsar's mind.*] Curio, whose speech (according to Lucan) determined Julius Cæsar to proceed when he had arrived at Rimini, (the ancient Ariminum,) and doubted whether he should prosecute the civil war.

Tolle moras: semper nocuit differre paratis. *Pharsal.* l. i. 231  
 Haste then thy towering eagles on their way;  
 When fair occasion calls, 'tis fatal to delay. *Rowe.*

Affirming that delay to men prepared  
 Was ever harmful." Oh! how terrified  
 Methought was Curio, from whose throat was cut  
 The tongue, which spake that hardy word. Then one,  
 Maim'd of each hand, uplifted in the gloom  
 The bleeding stumps, that they with gory spots  
 Sullied his face, and cried; "Remember thee  
 Of Mosca<sup>1</sup> too; I who, alas! exclaim'd,  
 'The deed once done, there is an end,' that proved  
 A seed of sorrow to the Tuscan race."

I added: "Ay, and death to thine own tribe."

Whence, heaping woe on woe, he hurried off,  
 As one grief-stung to madness. But I there  
 Still linger'd to behold the troop, and saw  
 Thing, such as I may fear without more proof  
 To tell of, but that conscience makes me firm,  
 The boon companion<sup>2</sup>, who her strong breastplate  
 Buckles on him, that feels no guilt within,  
 And bids him on and fear not. Without doubt  
 I saw, and yet it seems to pass before me,  
 A headless trunk, that even as the rest  
 Of the sad flock paced onward. By the hair  
 It bore the sever'd member, lantern-wise  
 Pendent in hand, which look'd at us, and said,  
 "Woe's me!" The spirit lighted thus himself;  
 And two there were in one, and one in two.  
 How that may be, he knows who ordereth so.

When at the bridge's foot direct he stood,  
 His arm aloft he rear'd, thrusting the head  
 Full in our view, that nearer we might hear

---

<sup>1</sup> *Mosca.*] Buondelmonte was engaged to marry a lady of the Amidei family, but broke his promise, and united himself to one of the Donati. This was so much resented by the former, that a meeting of themselves and their kinsmen was held, to consider of the best means of revenging the insult. Mosca degli Uberti, or de' Lamberti, persuaded them to resolve on the assassination of Buondelmonte, exclaiming to them, "the thing once done, there is an end." The counsel and its effects were the source of many terrible calamities to the state of Florence. "This murder," says G. Villani, lib. v. cap. xxxviii., "was the cause and beginning of the accursed Guelph and Ghibelline parties in Florence." It happened in 1215. See the *Paradise*, Canto xvi. 139.

<sup>2</sup> *The boon companion.*]

What stronger breastplate than a heart untainted?

*Shakspeare, 2 Hen. VI. act iii. sc. 2*



The words, which thus it utter'd : "Now behold  
 This grievous torment, thou, who breathing go'st  
 To spy the dead : behold, if any else  
 Be terrible as this. And, that on earth  
 Thou mayst bear tidings of me, know that I  
 Am Bertrand<sup>1</sup>, he of Born, who gave king John  
 The counsel mischievous. Father and son  
 I set at mutual war. For Absalom  
 And David more did not Ahitophel,  
 Spurring them on maliciously to strife.  
 For parting those so closely knit, my brain  
 Parted, alas ! I carry from its source,  
 That in this trunk inhabits. Thus the law  
 Of retribution fiercely works in me."

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## CANTO XXIX.

### ARGUMENT.

Dante, at the desire of Virgil, proceeds onward to the bridge that crosses the tenth gulf, from whence he hears the cries of the alchemists and forgers, who are tormented therein ; but not being able to discern any thing on account of the darkness, they descend the rock, that bounds this the last of the compartments in which the eighth circle is divided, and then behold the spirits who are afflicted by divers plagues and diseases. Two of them, namely, Grifolino of Arezzo and Capocchio of Sienna, are introduced speaking.

So were mine eyes inebriate with the view  
 Of the vast multitude, whom various wounds

---

<sup>1</sup> *Bertrand.*] Bertrand de Born, Vicomte de Hautefort, near Perigueux in Guienne, who incited John to rebel against his father, Henry II. of England. Bertrand holds a distinguished place among the Provençal poets. He is quoted in Dante, de Vulg. Eloq. lib. ii. cap. 2. where it is said, "that he treated of war, which no Italian poet had yet done." "*Arma vero nulum Italum adhuc poetasse invenio.*" The triple division of subjects for poetry, made in this chapter of the de Vulg. Eloq., is very remarkable. It will be found in a note on Purgatory, Canto xxvi. 113. For the translation of some extracts from Bertrand de Born's poems, see Millot, Hist. Littéraire des Troubadours, tom. i. p. 210 ; but the historical parts of that work are, I believe, not to be relied on. Bertrand had a son of the same name, who wrote a poem against John, king of England. It is that species of composition called the serventese ; and is in the Vatican, a MS. in Cod. 3204. See Bastero. La Crusca Provenzale, Roma. 1724. p. 80. For many particulars respecting both Bertrands, consult Raynouard's Poésies des Troubadours ; in which excellent work, and in his Lexique Roman, Paris, 1838, several of their poems, in the Provençal language, may be seen.



Disfigured, that they long'd to stay and weep.

But Virgil roused me : "What yet gazest on ?  
Wherefore doth fasten yet thy sight below  
Among the maim'd and miserable shades ?  
Thou hast not shown in any chasm beside  
This weakness. Know, if thou wouldst number them,  
That two and twenty miles the valley winds  
Its circuit, and already is the moon  
Beneath our feet : the time permitted now  
Is short ; and more, not seen, remains to see."

"If thou," I straight replied, "hadst weigh'd the cause,  
For which I look'd, thou hadst perchance excused  
The tarrying still." My leader part pursued  
His way, the while I follow'd, answering him,  
And adding thus : "Within that cave I deem,  
Whereon so fixedly I held my ken,  
There is a spirit dwells, one of my blood,  
Wailing the crime that costs him now so dear."

Then spake my master : "Let thy soul no more  
Afflict itself for him. Direct elsewhere  
Its thought, and leave him. At the bridge's foot  
I mark'd how he did point with menacing look  
At thee, and heard him by the others named  
Geri of Bello<sup>1</sup>. Thou so wholly then  
Wert busied with his spirit, who once ruled  
The towers of Hautefort, that thou lookedst not  
That way, ere he was gone."—"O guide beloved !  
His violent death yet unavenged," said I,  
"By any, who are partners in his shame,  
Made him contemptuous ; therefore, as I think,  
He pass'd me speechless by ; and, doing so,  
Hath made me more compassionate his fate."

So we discoursed to where the rock first show'd  
The other valley, had more light been there,  
E'en to the lowest depth. Soon as we came  
O'er the last cloister in the dismal rounds

---

<sup>1</sup> *Geri of Bello.*] A kinsman of the Poet's, who was murdered by one of the Sacchetti family. His being placed here, may be considered as a proof that Dante was more impartial in the allotment of his punishments than has generally been supposed. He was the son of Bello, who was brother to Bellincione, our Poet's grandfather. Pelli, *Mem. per la Vita di Dante.* Opere di Dante. Zatta ediz. tom. iv. part. ii. p. 23.

Of Malebolge, and the brotherhood  
 Were to our view exposed, then many a dart  
 Of sore lament assail'd me, headed all  
 With points of thrilling pity, that I closed  
 Both ears against the volley with mine hands.

As were the torment<sup>1</sup>, if each lazar-house  
 Of Valdichiana<sup>2</sup>, in the sultry time  
 'Twixt July and September, with the isle  
 Sardinia and Maremma's pestilent fen<sup>3</sup>,  
 Had heap'd their maladies all in one foss  
 Together; such was here the torment: dire  
 The stench, as issuing steams from fester'd limbs.

We on the utmost shore of the long rock  
 Descended still to leftward. Then my sight  
 Was livelier to explore the depth, wherein  
 The minister of the most mighty Lord,  
 All-searching Justice, dooms to punishment  
 The forgers noted on her dread record.

More rueful was it not methinks to see  
 The nation in Ægina<sup>4</sup> droop, what time  
 Each living thing, e'en to the little worm,  
 All fell, so full of malice was the air,

<sup>1</sup> *As were the torment.*] It is very probable that these lines gave Milton the idea of his celebrated description:

Immediately a place  
 Before their eyes appear'd, sad, noisome, dark.  
 A lazar-house it seem'd, wherein were laid  
 Numbers of all diseased, all maladies, &c. *P. L.* b. xi. 477

Yet the enumeration of diseases, which follows, appears to have been taken by Milton from the *Quadriregio*:

Quivi eran zoppi, monchi, sordi, e orbi,  
 Quivi era il mal podagrico e di fianco,  
 Quivi la frenesia cogli occhi torbi.  
 Quivi il dolor gridante, e non mai stanco,  
 Quivi il catarro con la gran cianfarda,  
 L'asma, la polmonia quivi eran' anco.  
 L'idropisia quivi era grave e tarda,  
 Di tutte febbri quel piano era pieno,  
 Quivi quel mal, che par che la carne arda. *Lib. ii. cap. 8.*

<sup>2</sup> *Of Valdichiana.*] The valley through which passes the river Chiana, bounded by Arezzo, Cortona, Montepulciano, and Chiusi. In the heat of autumn it was formerly rendered unwholesome by the stagnation of the water, but has since been drained by the Emperor Leopold II. The Chiana is mentioned as a remarkably sluggish stream, in the *Paradise*, Canto xiii. 21. <sup>3</sup> *Maremma's pestilent fen.*] See note to Canto xxv. v. 18.

<sup>4</sup> *In Ægina.*] He alludes to the fable of the ants changed into Myrmidons. *Ovid, Met. lib. vii.*

(And afterward, as bards of yore have told,  
The ancient people were restored anew  
From seed of emmets,) than was here to see  
The spirits, that languish'd through the murky vale,  
Up-piled on many a stack. Confused they lay,  
One o'er the belly, o'er the shoulders one  
Roll'd of another; sideling crawl'd a third  
Along the dismal pathway. Step by step  
We journey'd on, in silence looking round,  
And listening those diseased, who strove in vain  
To lift their forms. Then two I mark'd, that sat  
Propt 'gainst each other, as two brazen pans  
Set to retain the heat. From head to foot,  
A tetter bark'd them round. Nor saw I e'er  
Groom currying so fast, for whom his lord  
Impatient waited, or himself perchance  
Tired with long watching, as of these each one  
Plied quickly his keen nails, through furiousness  
Of ne'er abated pruriency. The crust  
Came drawn from underneath in flakes, like scales  
Scraped from the bream, or fish of broader mail.

"O thou! who with thy fingers rendest off  
Thy coat of proof," thus spake my guide to one,  
"And sometimes makest tearing pincers of them,  
Tell me if any born of Latian land  
Be among these within: so may thy nails  
Serve thee for everlasting to this toil."

"Both are of Latium," weeping he replied,  
"Whom tortured thus thou seest: but who art thou  
That hast inquired of us?" To whom my guide:  
"One that descend with this man, who yet lives,  
From rock to rock, and show him hell's abyss."

Then started they asunder, and each turn'd  
Trembling toward us, with the rest, whose ear  
Those words redounding struck. To me my liege  
Address'd him: "Speak to them whate'er thou list.

And I therewith began: "So may no time  
Filch your remembrance from the thoughts of men  
In the upper world, but after many suns  
Survive it, as ye tell me, who ye are,  
And of what race ye come. Your punishment,

Unseemly and disgustful in its kind,  
Deter you not from opening thus much to me."

"Arezzo was my dwelling<sup>1</sup>," answer'd one,  
"And me Albero of Sienna brought  
To die by fire: but that, for which I died,  
Leads me not here. True is, in sport I told him,  
That I had learn'd to wing my flight in air;  
And he, admiring much, as he was void  
Of wisdom, will'd me to declare to him  
The secret of mine art: and only hence,  
Because I made him not a Dædalus,  
Prevail'd on one supposed his sire to burn me.  
But Minos to this chasm, last of the ten,  
For that I practised alchemy on earth,  
Has doom'd me. Him no subterfuge eludes."

Then to the bard I spake: "Was ever race  
Light as Sienna's<sup>2</sup>? Sure not France herself  
Can show a tribe so frivolous and vain."

The other leprous spirit heard my words,  
And thus return'd: "Be Stricca<sup>3</sup> from this charge  
Exempted, he who knew so temperately

<sup>1</sup> *Arezzo was my dwelling.*] Grifolino of Arezzo, who promised Albero, son of the Bishop of Sienna, that he would teach him the art of flying; and, because he did not keep his promise, Albero prevailed on his father to have him burnt for a necromancer.

<sup>2</sup> ————— *Was ever race*

*Light as Sienna's?*] The same imputation is again cast on the Siennese, Purg. Canto xiii. 141. <sup>3</sup> *Stricca.*] This is said ironically. Stricca, Niccolo Salimbeni, Caccia of Asciano, and Abbagliato or Meo de' Folcacchieri, belonged to a company of prodigal and luxurious young men in Sienna, called the "*brigata godereccia*." Niccolo was the inventor of a new manner of using cloves in cookery, not very well understood by the commentators, and which was termed the "*costuma ricca*." Pagliarini, in his Historical Observations on the Quadriregio, lib. iii. cap. 13. adduces a passage from a MS. History of Sienna, in which it is told that these spendthrifts, out of the sum raised from the sale of their estates, built a palace, which they inhabited in common, and made the receptacle of their apparatus for luxurious enjoyment; and that, amongst their other extravagancies, they had their horses shod with silver, and forbade their servants to pick up the precious shoes if they dropped off. The end was, as might be expected, extreme poverty and wretchedness. Landino says, they spent two hundred thousand florins in twenty months. Horses shod with silver are mentioned by Fazio degli Uberti:

Ancora in questo tempo si fù visto  
Quel Roberto Guiscardo, che d'argento  
I cavagli ferrò per far l'acquisto.

*Dittamondo*, l. ii. c. 24, as corrected by Peticari.



To lay out fortune's gifts ; and Niccolo,  
 Who first the spice's costly luxury  
 Discover'd in that garden<sup>1</sup>, where such seed  
 Roots deepest in the soil : and be that troop  
 Exempted, with whom Caccia of Asciano  
 Lavish'd his vineyards and wide-spreading woods,  
 And his rare wisdom *Abbagliato*<sup>2</sup> show'd  
 A spectacle for all. That thou mayst know  
 Who seconds thee against the Siennese  
 Thus gladly, bend this way thy sharpen'd sight,  
 That well my face may answer to thy ken ;  
 So shalt thou see I am *Capocchio's* ghost<sup>3</sup>,  
 Who forged transmuted metals by the power  
 Of alchemy ; and if I scan thee right,  
 Thou needs must well remember how I aped  
 Creative nature by my subtle art."

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CANTO XXX.

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ARGUMENT.

In the same gulf, other kinds of impostors, as those who have counterfeited the persons of others, or debased the current coin, or deceived by speech under false pretences, are described as suffering various diseases. Sinon of Troy and Adamo of Brescia mutually reproach each other with their several impostures.

WHAT time resentment burn'd in Juno's breast
 For Semele against the Theban blood,
 As more than once in dire mischance was rued ;
 Such fatal frenzy seized on Athamas⁴,

¹ *In that garden.*] Sienna. ² *Abbagliato.*] Lombardi understands 'Abbagliato' not to be the name of a man, but to be the epithet to "senno," and construes "E l'abbagliato suo senno proferse," "and manifested to the world the blindness of their understanding." So little doubt, however, is made of there being such a person, that Allacci speaks of his grandfather Folcacchiero de' Folcacchieri of Sienna, as one who may dispute with the Sicilians the praise of being the first inventor of Italian poetry. Tiraboschi, indeed, observes, that this genealogy is not authenticated by Allacci ; yet it is difficult to suppose that he should have mentioned it at all, if Meo de' Folcacchieri, or Abbagliato, as he was called, had never existed. Vol. i. p. 95. Mr. Mathias's edit. ³ *Capocchio's ghost.*] Capocchio of Sienna, who is said to have been a fellow-student of Dante's, in natural philosophy.

⁴ *Athamas.*] From Ovid, *Metam. lib. iv.* Protinus Æolides, &c.

That he his spouse beholding with a babe
 Laden on either arm, "Spread out," he cried,
 "The meshes, that I take the lioness
 And the young lions at the pass:" then forth
 Stretch'd he his merciless talons, grasping one,
 One helpless innocent, Learchus named,
 Whom swinging down he dash'd upon a rock;
 And with her other burden¹, self-destroy'd,
 The hapless mother plunged. And when the pride
 Of all presuming Troy fell from its height,
 By fortune overwhelm'd, and the old king
 With his realm perish'd; then did Hecuba²,
 A wretch forlorn and captive, when she saw
 Polyxena first slaughter'd, and her son,
 Her Polydorus³, on the wild sea-beach
 Next met the mourner's view, then reft of sense
 Did she run barking even as a dog;
 Such mighty power had grief to wrench her soul.
 But ne'er the Furies, or of Thebes, or Troy,
 With such fell cruelty were seen, their goads
 Infixing in the limbs of man or beast,
 As now two pale and naked ghosts I saw,
 That gnarling wildly scamper'd, like the swine
 Excluded from his sty. One reach'd Capocchio,
 And in the neck-joint sticking deep his fangs,
 Dragg'd him, that, o'er the solid pavement rubb'd
 His belly stretch'd out prone. The other shape,
 He of Arezzo, there left trembling, spake:
 "That sprite of air is Schicchi⁴; in like mood
 Of random mischief vents he still his spite."

To whom I answering: "Oh! as thou dost hope

¹ *With her other burden.*]

Seque super pontum nullo tardata timore

Mittit, onusque suum.

Ovid, Metam. lib. iv.

² *Hecuba.*] See Euripides, *Hecuba*; and *Ovid, Metam. lib. xiii.*

³ *Her Polydorus.*]

Aspicit ejectum Polidori in littore corpus. *Ovid, Ibid.*

⁴ *Schicchi.*] Gianni Schicchi, who was of the family of Cavalcanti, possessed such a faculty of moulding his features to the resemblance of others, that he was employed by Simon Donati to personate Buoso Donati, then recently deceased, and to make a will, leaving Simon his heir; for which service he was remunerated with a mare of extraordinary value, here called "the lady of the herd."

The other may not flesh its jaws on thee,
 Be patient to inform us, who it is,
 Ere it speed hence. —“That is the ancient soul
 Of wretched Myrrha¹,” he replied, “who burn’d
 With most unholy flame for her own sire,
 And a false shape assuming, so perform’d
 The deed of sin ; e’en as the other there,
 That onward passes, dared to counterfeit
 Donati’s features, to feign’d testament
 The seal affixing, that himself might gain,
 For his own share, the lady of the herd.”

When vanish’d the two furious shades, on whom
 Mine eye was held, I turn’d it back to view
 The other cursed spirits. One I saw
 In fashion like a lute, had but the groin
 Been sever’d where it meets the forked part.
 Swoln dropsy, disproportioning the limbs
 With ill-converted moisture, that the paunch
 Suits not the visage, open’d wide his lips,
 Gasping as in the hectic man for drought,
 One towards the chin, the other upward curl’d.

“O ye ! who in this world of misery,
 Wherefore I know not, are exempt from pain,”
 Thus he began, “attentively regard
 Adamo’s woe². When living, full supply
 Ne’er lack’d me of what most I coveted ;
 One drop of water now, alas ! I crave.
 The rills, that glitter down the grassy slopes
 Of Casentino³, making fresh and soft
 The banks whereby they glide to Arno’s stream,
 Stand ever in my view ; and not in vain ;
 For more the pictured semblance dries me up,
 Much more than the disease, which makes the flesh
 Desert these shrivel’d cheeks. So from the place,
 Where I transgress’d, stern justice urging me,
 Takes means to quicken more my labouring sighs.

¹ *Myrrha*.] See Ovid, *Metam. lib. x.* ² *Adamo’s woe*.] Adamo of Brescia, at the instigation of Guido, Alessandro, and their brother Aghinulfo, lords of Romena, counterfeited the coin of Florence ; for which crime he was burnt. Landino says, that in his time the peasants still pointed out a pile of stones near Romena, as the place of his execution. See *Troya, Veltro Allegorico*, p. 25. ³ *Casentino*.] Romena is a part of Casentino.

There is Romena, where I falsified
 The metal with the Baptist's form imprest,
 For which on earth I left my body burnt.
 But if I here might see the sorrowing soul
 Of Guido, Alessandro, or their brother,
 For Branda's limpid spring¹ I would not change
 The welcome sight. One is e'en now within,
 If truly the mad spirits tell, that round
 Are wandering. But wherein besteads me that?
 My limbs are fetter'd. Were I but so light,
 That I each hundred years might move one inch,
 I had set forth already on this path,
 Seeking him out amidst the shapeless crew,
 Although eleven miles it wind, not less²
 Than half of one across. They brought me down
 Among this tribe; induced by them, I stamp'd
 The florens with three carats of alloy³."

"Who are that abject pair," I next inquired,
 "That closely bounding thee upon thy right
 Lie smoking, like a hand in winter steep'd
 In the chill stream?"—"When to this gulf I dropp'd,"
 He answer'd, "here I found them; since that hour
 They have not turn'd, nor ever shall, I ween,
 Till time hath run his course. One is that dame,
 The false accuser⁴ of the Hebrew youth;
 Sinon the other, that false Greek from Troy.
 Sharp fever drains the reeky moistness out,

¹ *Branda's limpid spring.*] A fountain in Sienna. ² *Less.*] Lombardi justly concludes that as Adamo wishes to exaggerate the difficulty of finding the spirit whom he wished to see, "men," and not "più," ("less," and not "more" than the half of a mile,) is probably the true reading; for there are authorities for both. ³ *The florens with three carats of alloy.*] The floren was a coin that ought to have had twenty-four carats of pure gold. Villani relates, that it was first used at Florence in 1252, an era of great prosperity in the annals of the republic; before which time their most valuable coinage was of silver. Hist. lib. vi. c. liv. Fazio degli Uberti uses the word to denote the purest gold.

Pura era come l'oro del fiorino. *Dittamondo*, L. ii. cap. xiv.

"Among the ruins of Chaucer's house at Woodstock they found an ancient coin of Florence; I think, a Florein, anciently common in England. Chaucer, Pardon. Tale v. 2290.

For that the Floraines been so fair and bright.
 Edward the Third, in 1344, altered it from a lower value to 6s. 8d. The particular piece I have mentioned seems about that value." *Warton, Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, v. ii. sect. ii. p. 44. ⁴ *The false accuser.*] Potiphar's wife.

In such a cloud upsteam'd." When that he heard,
One, gall'd perchance to be so darkly named,
With clench'd hand smote him on the braced paunch,
That like a drum resounded : but forthwith
Adamo smote him on the face, the blow
Returning with his arm, that seem'd as hard.

" Though my o'erweighty limbs have ta'en from me
The power to move," said he, " I have an arm
At liberty for such employ." To whom
Was answer'd : " When thou wentest to the fire,
Thou hadst it not so ready at command,
Then readier when it coin'd the impostor gold."

And thus the dropsied : " Ay, now speak'st thou true :
But there thou gavest not such true testimony,
When thou wast question'd of the truth, at Troy."

" If I spake false, thou falsely stamp'dst the coin,"
Said Sinon; " I am here for but one fault,
And thou for more than any imp beside."

" Remember," he replied, " O perjured one!
The horse remember, that did teem with death ;
And all the world be witness to thy guilt."

" To thine," return'd the Greek, " witness the thirst
Whence thy tongue cracks, witness the fluid mound
Rear'd by thy belly up before thine eyes,
A mass corrupt." To whom the coiner thus :
" Thy mouth gapes wide as ever to let pass
Its evil saying. Me if thirst assails,
Yet I am stuf't with moisture. Thou art parch'd :
Pains rack thy head : no urging wouldst thou need
To make thee lap Narcissus' mirror up."

I was all fix'd to listen, when my guide
Admonish'd : " Now beware. A little more,
And I do quarrel with thee." I perceived
How angrily he spake, and towards him turn'd
With shame so poignant, as remember'd yet
Confounds me. As a man that dreams of harm
Befallen him, dreaming wishes it a dream,
And that which is, desires as if it were not ;
Such then was I, who, wanting power to speak,
Wish'd to excuse myself, and all the while
Excused me, though unweeting that I did.

“More grievous fault than thine has been, less shame,”
 My master cried, “might expiate. Therefore cast
 All sorrow from thy soul ; and if again
 Chance bring thee where like conference is held,
 Think I am ever at thy side. To hear
 Such wrangling is a joy for vulgar minds.”

~~~~~

## CANTO XXXI.

### ARGUMENT.

The poets, following the sound of a loud horn, are led by it to the ninth circle, in which there are four rounds, one enclosed within the other, and containing as many sorts of Traitors ; but the present Canto shows only that the circle is encompassed with Giants, one of whom, Antæus, takes them both in his arms and places them at the bottom of the circle.

THE very tongue<sup>1</sup>, whose keen reproof before  
 Had wounded me, that either cheek was stain'd,  
 Now minister'd my cure. So have I heard,  
 Achilles' and his father's javelin caused  
 Pain first, and then the boon of health restored.

Turning our back upon the vale of woe,  
 We cross'd the encircled mound in silence. There  
 Was less than day and less than night, that far  
 Mine eye advanced not : but I heard a horn  
 Sounded so loud, the peal it rang had made  
 The thunder feeble. Following its course  
 The adverse way, my strained eyes were bent

---

<sup>1</sup> *The very tongue.*]

Vulnus in Herculeo quæ quondam fecerat hoste

Vulneris auxilium Pelias hasta fuit. *Ovid, Rem. Amor. 47.*

The same allusion was made by Bernard de Ventadour, a Provençal poet in the middle of the twelfth century ; and Millot observes, that “it was a singular instance of erudition in a Troubadour.” But it is not impossible, as Warton remarks, (*Hist. of Engl. Poetry*, vol. ii. sect. x. p. 215) but that he might have been indebted for it to some of the early romances. In Chaucer's *Squier's Tale*, a sword of similar quality is introduced :

And other folk have wondred on the sward,  
 That could so piercen through every thing ;  
 And fell in speech of Telephus the king,  
 And of Achilles for his queint spere,  
 For he couth with it both heale and dere.

So Shakspeare, *Henry VI. P. II. act v. sc. 1.*

Whose smile and frown like to Achilles' spear  
 Is able with the change to kill and cure.

On that one spot. So terrible a blast  
 Orlando<sup>1</sup> blew not, when that dismal rout  
 O'erthrew the host of Charlemain, and quench'd  
 His saintly warfare. Thitherward not long  
 My head was raised, when many a lofty tower  
 Methought I spied. "Master," said I, "what land  
 Is this?" He answer'd straight: "Too long a space  
 Of intervening darkness has thine eye  
 To traverse: thou hast therefore widely err'd  
 In thy imagining. Thither arrived  
 Thou well shalt see, how distance can delude  
 The sense. A little therefore urge thee on."

Then tenderly he caught me by the hand;  
 "Yet know," said he, "ere further we advance,  
 That it less strange may seem, these are not towers,  
 But giants. In the pit they stand immersed,  
 Each from his navel downward, round the bank."

As when a fog disperseth gradually,  
 Our vision traces what the mist involves  
 Condensed in air; so piercing through the gross  
 And gloomy atmosphere, as more and more  
 We near'd toward the brink, mine error fled  
 And fear came o'er me. As with circling round  
 Of turrets, Montereccion<sup>2</sup> crowns his walls;  
 E'en thus the shore, encompassing the abyss,  
 Was turreted with giants<sup>3</sup>, half their length  
 Uprearing, horrible, whom Jove from heaven  
 Yet threatens, when his muttering thunder rolls.

Of one already I descried the face,  
 Shoulders, and breast, and of the belly huge  
 Great part, and both arms down along his ribs.

All-teeming Nature, when her plastic hand  
 Left framing of these monsters, did display

<sup>1</sup> *Orlando.*] When Charlemain with all his peerage fell  
 At Fontarabia.

*Milton, P. L. b. i. 586.*

See Warton's *Hist. of Eng. Poetry*, vol. i. sect. iii. p. 132. "This is the  
 horn which Orlando won from the giant Jatmund, and which, as Turpin  
 and the Islandic bards report, was endued with magical power, and might  
 be heard at the distance of twenty miles." Charlemain and Orlando are  
 introduced in the *Paradise*, Canto xviii. <sup>2</sup> *Montereccion.*] A castle near  
 Sienna. <sup>3</sup> *Giants.*] The giants round the pit, it is remarked by Warton,  
 are in the Arabian vein of fabling. See D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Orientale*. V.  
 Rocail. p. 717. a.



Past doubt her wisdom, taking from mad War  
 Such slaves to do his bidding; and if she  
 Repent her not of the elephant and whale,  
 Who ponders well confesses her therein  
 Wiser and more discreet; for when brute force  
 And evil will are back'd with subtlety,  
 Resistance none avails. His visage seem'd  
 In length and bulk, as doth the pine<sup>1</sup> that tops  
 Saint Peter's Roman fane; and the other bones  
 Of like proportion, so that from above  
 The bank, which girdled him below, such height  
 Arose his stature, that three Friezelanders  
 Had striven in vain to reach but to his hair.  
 Full thirty ample palms was he exposed  
 Downward from whence a man his garment loops.  
 "Raphel<sup>2</sup> baì ameth, sabì almi:"  
 So shouted his fierce lips, which sweeter hymns  
 Became not; and my guide address'd him thus:  
 "O senseless spirit! let thy horn for thee  
 Interpret: therewith vent thy rage, if rage  
 Or other passion wring thee. Search thy neck,  
 There shalt thou find the belt that binds it on.  
 Spirit confused<sup>3</sup>! lo, on thy mighty breast  
 Where hangs the baldrick!" Then to me he spake:  
 "He doth accuse himself. Nimrod is this,  
 Through whose ill counsel in the world no more  
 One tongue prevails. But pass we on, nor waste  
 Our words; for so each language is to him,  
 As his to others, understood by none."  
 Then to the leftward turning sped we forth,  
 And at a sling's throw found another shade

---

<sup>1</sup> *The pine.*] "The large pine of bronze, which once ornamented the top of the mole of Adrian, was afterwards employed to decorate the top of the belfry of St. Peter; and having (according to Buti) been thrown down by lightning, it was, after lying some time on the steps of this palace, transferred to the place where it now is, in the Pope's garden, by the side of the great corridore of Belvedere. In the time of our poet, the pine was then either on the belfry or on the steps of St. Peter." *Lombardi.* <sup>2</sup> *Raphel, &c.*] These unmeaning sounds, it is supposed, are meant to express the confusion of languages at the building of the tower of Babel. <sup>3</sup> *Spirit confused.*] I had before translated "Wild spirit!" and have altered it at the suggestion of Mr. Darley, who well observes, that "anima confusa" is peculiarly appropriate to Nimrod, the author of the confusion at Babel.



Far fiercer and more huge. I cannot say  
 What master hand had girt him ; but he held  
 Behind the right arm fetter'd, and before,  
 The other, with a chain, that fasten'd him  
 From the neck down ; and five times round his form  
 Apparent met the wreathed links. " This proud one  
 Would of his strength against almighty Jove  
 Make trial," said my guide : " whence he is thus  
 Requited : Ephialtes him they call.  
 Great was his prowess, when the giants brought  
 Fear on the gods : those arms, which then he plied,  
 Now moves he never." Forthwith I return'd :  
 " Fain would I, if 't were possible, mine eyes,  
 Of Briareus immeasurable, gain'd  
 Experience next." He answer'd : " Thou shalt see  
 Not far from hence Antæus, who both speaks  
 And is unfetter'd, who shall place us there  
 Where guilt is at its depth. Far onward stands  
 Whom thou wouldst fain behold, in chains, and made  
 Like to this spirit, save that in his looks  
 More fell he seems." By violent earthquake rock'd  
 Ne'er shook a tower, so reeling to its base,  
 As Ephialtes. More than ever then  
 I dreaded death ; nor than the terror more  
 Had needed, if I had not seen the cords  
 That held him fast. We, straightway journeying on,  
 Came to Antæus, who, five ells complete  
 Without the head, forth issued from the cave.

" O thou, who in the fortunate vale<sup>1</sup>, that made  
 Great Scipio heir of glory, when his sword  
 Drove back the troop of Hannibal in flight,  
 Who thence of old didst carry for thy spoil  
 An hundred lions ; and if thou hadst fought  
 In the high conflict on thy brethren's side,  
 Seems as men yet believed, that through thine arm  
 The sons of earth had conquer'd ; now vouchsafe  
 To place us down beneath, where numbing cold  
 Locks up Cocytus. Force not that we crave

---

<sup>1</sup> *The fortunate vale.*] The country near Carthage. See Liv. Hist. l. xxx. and Lucan, Phars. l. iv. 590, &c. Dante has kept the latter of these writers in his eye throughout all this passage.

Or Tityus' help or Typhon's. Here is one  
 Can give what in this realm ye covet. Stoop  
 Therefore, nor scornfully distort thy lip.  
 He in the upper world can yet bestow  
 Renown on thee; for he doth live, and looks  
 For life yet longer, if before the time  
 Grace call him not unto herself." Thus spake  
 The teacher. He in haste forth stretch'd his hands  
 And caught my guide. Alcides<sup>1</sup> whilom felt  
 That grapple, straiten'd sore. Soon as my guide  
 Had felt it, he bespake me thus: "This way,  
 That I may clasp thee;" then so caught me up,  
 That we were both one burden. As appears  
 The tower of Carisenda<sup>2</sup>, from beneath  
 Where it doth lean, if chance a passing cloud  
 So sail across, that opposite it hangs;  
 Such then Antæus seem'd, as at mine ease  
 I mark'd him stooping. I were fain at times  
 To have past another way. Yet in the abyss,  
 That Lucifer with Judas low ingulfs,  
 Lightly he placed us; nor, there leaning, stay'd;  
 But rose, as in a bark the stately mast.

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 CANTO XXXII.

ARGUMENT.

This Canto treats of the first, and, in part, of the second of those rounds, into which the ninth and last, or frozen circle, is divided. In the former, called *Caina*, Dante finds *Camiccione de' Pazzi*, who gives him an account of other sinners who are there punished; and in the next, named *Antenora*, he hears in like manner from *Bocca degli Abbatini* who his fellow-sufferers are.

COULD I command rough rhymes and hoarse, to suit
 That hole of sorrow o'er which every rock

¹ *Alcides*.] The combat between Hercules and Antæus is adduced by the poet in his treatise "*De Monarchiâ*," lib. ii. as a proof of the judgment of God displayed in the *duel*, according to the singular superstition of those times. "*Certamine vero dupliciter Dei judicium aperitur vel ex collisione virium, sicut fit per duellum pugilum, qui duelliones etiam vocantur; vel ex contentione plurium ad aliquod signum prævalere conantium, sicut fit per pugnam athletarum currentium ad bravium. Primus istorum modorum apud gentiles figuratus fuit in illo duello Herculis et Antæi, cujus Lucanus meminit in quarto Pharsaliæ, et Ovidius in nono de rerum transmutatione.*"

The tower of Carisenda.] The leaning tower at Bologna.

His firm abutment rears, then might the vein
 Of fancy rise full springing : but not mine
 Such measures, and with faltering awe I touch
 The mighty theme ; for to describe the depth
 Of all the universe, is no emprise
 To jest with, and demands a tongue not used
 To infant babbling¹. But let them assist
 My song, the tuneful maidens, by whose aid
 Amphion wall'd in Thebes ; so with the truth
 My speech shall best accord. Oh ill-starr'd folk,
 Beyond all others wretched ! who abide
 In such a mansion, as scarce thought finds words
 To speak of, better had ye here on earth
 Been flocks, or mountain goats. As down we stood
 In the dark pit beneath the giants' feet,
 But lower far than they, and I did gaze
 Still on the lofty battlement, a voice
 Bespake me thus : "Look how thou walkest. Take
 Good heed, thy soles do tread not on the heads
 Of thy poor brethren." Thereupon I turn'd,
 And saw before and underneath my feet
 A lake², whose frozen surface liker seem'd
 To glass than water. Not so thick a veil
 In winter e'er hath Austrian Danube spread
 O'er his still course, nor Tanais far remote
 Under the chilling sky. Roll'd o'er that mass
 Had Tabernich or Pietrapana³ fallen,

¹ ——— *A tongue not used*

To infant babbling.] Nè da lingua, che chiami mamma, o babbo.

Dante in his treatise "De Vulg. Eloq." speaking of words not admissible in the loftier, or, as he calls it, tragic style of poetry, says—"In quorum numero nec puerilia propter suam simplicitatem ut Mamma et Babbo," lib. i. c. vii.

² *A lake.*] The same torment is introduced into the Edda, compiled in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. See the "Song of the Sun," translated by the Rev. James Beresford, London, 1805 ; and compare Warton's Hist. of Eng. Poetry, v. i. dissert. i. and Gray's, Posthumous Works, edited by Mr. Mathias, v. ii. p. 106. Indeed, as an escape from "the penalty of Adam, the season's difference," forms one of the most natural topics of consolation for the loss of life, so does a renewal of that suffering in its fiercest extremes of heat and cold bring before the imagination of men in general (except indeed the terrors of a self-accusing conscience) the liveliest idea of future punishment. Refer to Shakspeare and Milton in the notes to Canto iif. 82 ; and see Douce's Illustrations of Shakspeare, 8vo. 1807, v. i. p. 182.

³ *Tabernich or Pietrapana.*] The one a mountain in Selavonia, the other in that tract of country called the Garfagnana, not far from Lucca

Not e'en its rim had creak'd. As peeps the frog
 Croaking above the wave, what time in dreams
 The village gleaner oft pursues her toil,
 So, to where modest shame appears¹, thus low
 Blue pinch'd and shrined in ice the spirits stood,
 Moving their teeth in shrill note like the stork².
 His face each downward held; their mouth the cold,
 Their eyes express'd the dolour of their heart.

A space I look'd around, then at my feet
 Saw two so strictly join'd, that of their head
 The very hairs were mingled. "Tell me ye,
 Whose bosoms thus together press," said I,
 "Who are ye?" At that sound their necks they bent;
 And when their looks were lifted up to me,
 Straightway their eyes, before all moist within,
 Distill'd upon their lips, and the frost bound
 The tears betwixt those orbs, and held them there.
 Plank unto plank hath never cramp closed up
 So stoutly. Whence, like two enraged goats,
 They clash'd together: them such fury seized.

And one, from whom the cold both ears had reft,
 Exclaim'd, still looking downward: "Why on us
 Dost speculate so long? If thou wouldst know
 Who are these two³, the valley, whence his wave
 Bisenzio slopes, did for its master own
 Their sire Alberto, and next him themselves.
 They from one body issued: and throughout
 Caïna thou mayst search, nor find a shade
 More worthy in congealment to be fix'd;
 Not him⁴, whose breast and shadow Arthur's hand
 At that one blow dissever'd; not Focaccia⁵;

¹ *To where modest shame appears.*] "As high as to the face."

² *Moving their teeth in shrill note like the stork.*]

Metteno i denti in nota di cicogna.

So Boccaccio, G. viii. N. 7. "Lo scolar cattivello quasi cicogna divenuto si forte batteva i denti."

³ *Who are these two.*] Alessandro and Napoleone, sons of Alberto Alberti, who murdered each other. They were proprietors of the valley of Falterona, where the Bisenzio has its source, a river that falls into the Arno about six miles from Florence. ⁴ *Not him.*]

Mordrec, son of King Arthur. In the romance of Lancelot of the Lake, Arthur, having discovered the traitorous intentions of his son, pierces him through with the stroke of his lance, so that the sunbeam passes through the body of Mordrec; and this disruption of the shadow is no doubt what our Poet alludes to in the text. ⁵ *Focaccia.*] Focaccia of Cancellieri,

No, not this spirit, whose o'erjutting head
 Obstructs my onward view: he bore the name
 Of Mascheroni¹: Tuscan if thou be,
 Well knowest who he was. And to cut short
 All further question, in my form behold
 What once was Camiccione². I await
 Carlino³ here my kinsman, whose deep guilt
 Shall wash out mine." A thousand visages
 Then mark'd I, which the keen and eager cold
 Had shaped into a doggish grin; whence creeps
 A shivering horror o'er me, at the thought
 Of those frore shallows. While we journey'd on
 Toward the middle, at whose point unites
 All heavy substance, and I trembling went
 Through that eternal chilness, I know not
 If will⁴ it were, or destiny, or chance,
 But, passing 'midst the heads, my foot did strike
 With violent blow against the face of one.

"Wherefore dost bruise me?" weeping he exclaim'd.
 "Unless thy errand be some fresh revenge
 For Montaperto⁵, wherefore troublest me?"

I thus: "Instructor, now await me here,
 That I through him may rid me of my doubt:
 Thenceforth what haste thou wilt." The teacher paused
 And to that shade I spake, who bitterly
 Still cursed me in his wrath. "What art thou, speak,
 That railest thus on others?" He replied:
 "Now who art thou, that smiting others' cheeks,

(the Pistoian family,) whose atrocious act of revenge against his uncle is said to have given rise to the parties of the Bianchi and Neri, in the year 1300. See G. Villani, *Hist. lib. viii. c. xxxvii.* and Macchiavelli, *Hist. lib. ii.* The account of the latter writer differs much from that given by Landino in his *Commentary*. ¹ *Mascheroni*.] Sassol Mascheroni, a Florentine, who also murdered his uncle. ² *Camiccione*.] Camiccione de' Pazzi of Valdarno, by whom his kinsman Ubertino was treacherously put to death.

³ *Carlino*.] One of the same family. He betrayed the Castel di Piano Travigne, in Valdarno, to the Florentines, after the refugees of the Bianca and Ghibelline party had defended it against a siege for twenty-nine days, in the summer of 1302. See G. Villani, *lib. viii. c. lii.* and Dino Compagni, *lib. ii.*

⁴ *If will*.] Whether upheld by strength, or chance, or fate.

Milton, P. L. b. i. 133.

⁵ *Montaperto*.] The defeat of the Guelfi at Montaperto, occasioned by the treachery of Bocca degli Abbati, who, during the engagement, cut off the hand of Giacomo del Vacca de' Pazzi, bearer of the Florentine standard. G. Villani, *lib. vi. c. lxxx.* and notes to Canto x. This event happened in 1260

Through Antenora¹ roamest, with such force
As were past sufferance, wert thou living still?"

"And I am living, to thy joy perchance,"
Was my reply, "if fame be dear to thee,
That with the rest I may thy name enrol."

"The contrary of what I covet most,"
Said he, "thou tender'st: hence! nor vex me more.
Ill knowest thou to flatter in this vale."

Then seizing on his hinder scalp I cried:
"Name thee, or not a hair shall tarry here."

"Rend all away," he answer'd, "yet for that
I will not tell, nor show thee, who I am,
Though at my head thou pluck a thousand times."

Now I had grasp'd his tresses, and stript off
More than one tuft, he barking, with his eyes
Drawn in and downward, when another cried,
"What ails thee, Bocca? Sound not loud enough
Thy chattering teeth, but thou must bark outright?
What devil wrings thee?"—"Now," said I, "be dumb,
Accursed traitor! To thy shame, of thee
True tidings will I bear."—"Off!" he replied;
"Tell what thou list: but, as thou scape from hence,
To speak of him whose tongue hath been so glib,
Forget not: here he wails the Frenchman's gold.
'Him of Duera²,' thou canst say, 'I mark'd,
'Where the starved sinners pine.' If thou be ask'd
What other shade was with them, at thy side
Is Beccaria³, whose red gorge distain'd
The biting axe of Florence. Further on,
If I misdeem not, Soldanieri⁴ bides,

¹ *Antenora*.] "So called from Antenor, who, according to Dictys Cretensis (de Bello Troj. lib. v.) and Dares Phrygius (De Excidio Trojæ) betrayed Troy his country." *Lombardi*. See note on Purg. Canto v. 75. Antenor acts this part in Boccaccio's *Filostrato*, and in Chaucer's *Troilus and Creseide*.

² *Him of Duera*.] Buoso of Cremona, of the family of Duera, who was bribed by Guy de Montfort, to leave a pass between Piedmont and Parma, with the defence of which he had been intrusted by the Ghibellines, open to the army of Charles of Anjou, A. D. 1265, at which the people of Cremona were so enraged, that they extirpated the whole family. G. Villani, lib. vii. c. iv.

³ *Beccaria*.] Abbot of Vallombrosa, who was the Pope's Legate at Florence, where his intrigues in favour of the Ghibellines being discovered, he was beheaded. I do not find the occurrence in Villani, nor do the commentators say to what Pope he was legate. By Landino he is reported to have been from Parma; by Vellutello, from Pavia. ⁴ *Soldanieri*.]

With Ganellon¹, and Tribaldello², him
Who oped Faenza when the people slept."

We now had left him, passing on our way,
When I beheld two spirits by the ice
Pent in ~~one~~ hollow, that the head of one
Was cowl unto the other; and as bread
Is raven'd up through hunger, the uppermost
Did so apply his fangs to the other's brain,
Where the spine joins it. Not more furiously
On Menalippus' temples Tydeus³ gnawed,
Than on that skull and on its garbage he.

"O thou! who show'st so beastly sign of hate
'Gainst him thou prey'st on, let me hear," said I,
"The cause, on such condition, that if right
Warrant thy grievance, knowing who ye are,
And what the colour of his sinning was,
I may repay thee in the world above,
If that, wherewith I speak, be moist so long."

CANTO XXXIII.

ARGUMENT.

The Poet is told by Count Ugolino de' Gherardeschi of the cruel manner in which he and his children were famished in the tower at Pisa, by command of the Archbishop Ruggieri. He next discourses of the third round, called Ptolomea, wherein those are punished who have betrayed others under the semblance of kindness; and among these he finds the Friar Alberigo de' Manfredi, who tells him of one whose soul was already tormented in that place, though his body appeared still to be alive upon the earth, being yielded up to the governance of a fiend.

"Gianni Soldanieri," says Villani, Hist. lib. vii. c. xiv. "put himself at the head of the people, in the hopes of rising into power, not aware that the result would be mischief to the Ghibelline party, and his own ruin; an event which seems ever to have befallen him who has headed the populace in Florence."—A. D. 1266. ¹ *Ganellon*.] The betrayer of Charlemain, mentioned by Archbishop Turpin. He is a common instance of treachery with the poets of the middle ages.

Trop son fol e mal pensant,
Pis Valent que Guenelon. *Thibaut, Roi de Navarre.*
O new Scariot and new Ganilion,
O false dissembler, &c. *Chaucer, Nonne's Prieste's Tale.*

And in the Monke's Tale, Peter of Spaine.

² *Tribaldello*. Tribaldello de' Manfredi, who was bribed to betray the city of Faenza, A. D. 1282. G. Villani, lib. vii. c. lxxx. ³ *Tydeus*] See Statius, Theb. lib. viii ad finem.

His jaws uplifting from their fell repast,
 That sinner wiped them on the hairs o' the head,
 Which he behind had mangled, then began :
 "Thy will obeying, I call up afresh
 Sorrow past cure ; which, but to think of, wrings
 My heart, or ere I tell on 't. But if words,
 That I may utter, shall prove seed to bear
 Fruit of eternal infamy to him,
 The traitor whom I gnaw at, thou at once
 Shalt see me speak and weep. Who thou mayst be
 I know not, nor how here below art come :
 But Florentine thou seemest of a truth,
 When I do hear thee. Know, I was on earth
 Count Ugolino¹, and the Archbishop he

¹ *Count Ugolino.*] "In the year 1288, in the month of July, Pisa was much divided by competitors for the sovereignty ; one party, composed of certain of the Guelfi, being headed by the Judge Nino di Gallura de' Visconti ; another, consisting of others of the same faction, by the Count Ugolino de' Gherardeschi ; and a third by the Archbishop Ruggieri degli Ubaldini, with the Lanfranchi, Sismondi, Gualandi, and other Ghibelline houses. The Count Ugolino, to effect his purpose, united with the Archbishop and his party, and having betrayed Nino, his sister's son, they contrived that he and his followers should either be driven out of Pisa, or their persons seized. Nino hearing this, and not seeing any means of defending himself, retired to Calci, his castle, and formed an alliance with the Florentines and people of Lucca, against the Pisans. The Count, before Nino was gone, in order to cover his treachery, when every thing was settled for his expulsion, quitted Pisa, and repaired to a manor of his called Settimo ; whence, as soon as he was informed of Nino's departure, he returned to Pisa with great rejoicing and festivity, and was elevated to the supreme power with every demonstration of triumph and honour. But his greatness was not of long continuance. It pleased the Almighty that a total reverse of fortune should ensue, as a punishment for his acts of treachery and guilt ; for he was said to have poisoned the Count Anselmo da Capraia, his sister's son, on account of the envy and fear excited in his mind by the high esteem in which the gracious manners of Anselmo were held by the Pisans.—The power of the Guelfi being so much diminished, the Archbishop devised means to betray the Count Ugolino, and caused him to be suddenly attacked in his palace by the fury of the people, whom he had exasperated, by telling them that Ugolino had betrayed Pisa, and given up their castles to the citizens of Florence and of Lucca. He was immediately compelled to surrender ; his bastard son and his grandson fell in the assault ; and two of his sons, with their two sons also, were conveyed to prison." *G. Villani*, lib. vii. c. cxx. "In the following March, the Pisans, who had imprisoned the Count Ugolino, with two of his sons and two of his grandchildren, the offspring of his son the Count Guelfo, in a tower on the Piazza of the Anziani, caused the tower to be locked, the key thrown into the Arno, and all food to be withheld from them. In a few days they died of hunger ; but the Count first with loud cries declared his penitence, and yet neither priest nor friar was allowed to shrive him. All the five, when dead, were dragged out of

Ruggieri. Why I neighbour him so close,
 Now list. That through effect of his ill thoughts
 In him my trust reposing, I was ta'en
 And after murder'd, need is not I tell.
 What therefore thou canst not have heard, that is,
 How cruel was the murder, shalt thou hear,
 And know if he have wrong'd me. A small grate
 Within that mew, which for my sake the name
 Of famine bears, where others yet must pine,
 Already through its opening several moons¹
 Had shown me, when I slept the evil sleep
 That from the future tore the curtain off.
 This one, methought, as master of the sport,
 Rode forth to chase the gaunt wolf, and his whelps,
 Unto the mountain² which forbids the sight
 Of Lucca to the Pisan. With lean brachs
 Inquisitive and keen, before him ranged
 Lanfranchi with Sismondi and Gualandi.
 After short course the father and the sons
 Seem'd tired and lagging, and methought I saw
 The sharp tusks gore their sides. When I awoke,
 Before the dawn, amid their sleep I heard
 My sons (for they were with me) weep and ask
 For bread. Right cruel art thou, if no pang
 Thou feel at thinking what my heart foretold;
 And if not now, why use thy tears to flow?
 Now had they waken'd; and the hour drew near
 When they were wont to bring us food; the mind
 Of each misgave him through his dream, and I
 Heard, at its outlet underneath lock'd up
 The horrible tower: whence, uttering not a word,

the prison, and meanly interred; and from thenceforward the tower was called the tower of famine, and so shall ever be." *Ibid.* c. cxxvii. Troya asserts that Dante, for the sake of poetical effect, has much misrepresented the real facts. See his *Veltro Allegorico di Dante*. Ed. 1826, p. 28, 9. This would render a conjecture, which the same writer elsewhere hazards, still more improbable; that the story might have been written by Dante when the facts were yet recent, and afterwards introduced into his poem. *Ibid.* p. 96. Chaucer has briefly told Ugolino's story. See Monke's Tale. Hugeline of Pise.

¹ *Several moons.*] Many editions, and the greater part of the MSS. instead of "più lune," read "più lume;" according to which reading Ugolino would say, that the day had broke, and shone through the grated window of the prison, before he fell asleep. ² *Unto the mountain.*] The mountain S. Giuliano between Pisa and Lucca.

I look'd upon the visage of my sons.
 I wept not: so all stone I felt within¹.
 They wept: and one, my little Anselm, cried,
 'Thou lookest so! Father, what ails thee?' Yet
 I shed no tear, nor answer'd all that day
 Nor the next night, until another sun
 Came out upon the world. When a faint beam
 Had to our doleful prison made its way,
 And in four countenances I descried
 The image of my own, on either hand
 Through agony I bit; and they, who thought
 I did it through desire of feeding, rose
 O'the sudden, and cried, 'Father, we should grieve
 'Far less, if thou wouldst eat of us: thou gavest²
 'These weeds of miserable flesh we wear;
 'And do thou strip them off from us again.'
 Then, not to make them sadder, I kept down
 My spirit in stillness. That day and the next
 We all were silent. Ah, obdurate earth!
 Why open'dst not upon us? When we came
 To the fourth day, then Gaddo at my feet
 Outstretch'd did fling him, crying, 'Hast no help
 'For me, my father!' There he died; and e'en
 Plainly as thou seest me, saw I the three
 Fall one by one 'twixt the fifth day and sixth:
 Whence I betook me, now grown blind, to grope
 Over them all, and for three days aloud
 Call'd on them who were dead. Then, fasting got
 The mastery of grief." Thus having spoke,
 Once more upon the wretched skull his teeth
 He fasten'd like a mastiff's 'gainst the bone,
 Firm and unyielding. Oh, thou Pisa! shame

¹ *All stone I felt within.*] "My heart is turn'd to stone; I strike it, and it hurts my hand." *Shakspeare, Othello*, act iv. sc. 1.

² *Thou gavest.*] Tu ne vestisti

Queste misere carni, e tu le spoglia.

Imitated by Filicaja, *Canz.* iii.

Di questa Imperial caduca spoglia

Tu, Signor, me vestisti e tu mi spoglia:

Ben puoi 'l Regno me tor tu che me 'l desti.

And by Maffei in the Merope:

Tu disciogleste

Queste misere membra e tu le annodi.

Of all the people, who their dwelling make
 In that fair region¹, where the Italian voice
 Is heard; since that thy neighbours are so slack
 To punish, from their deep foundations rise
 Capraia and Gorgona², and dam up
 The mouth of Arno; that each soul in thee
 May perish in the waters. What if fame
 Reported that thy castles were betray'd
 By Ugolino, yet no right hadst thou
 To stretch his children on the rack. For them,
 Brigata, Uguccione, and the pair
 Of gentle ones, of whom my song hath told,
 Their tender years, thou modern Thebes, did make
 Uncapable of guilt. Onward we pass'd,
 Where others, skarf'd in rugged folds of ice,
 Not on their feet were turn'd, but each reversed.

There, very weeping suffers not to weep³;
 For, at their eyes, grief, seeking passage, finds
 Impediment, and rolling inward turns
 For increase of sharp anguish: the first tears
 Hang cluster'd, and like crystal vizors show,
 Under the socket brimming all the cup.

Now though the cold had from my face dislodged
 Each feeling, as 't were callous, yet me seem'd
 Some breath of wind I felt. "Whence cometh this,"
 Said I, "my Master? Is not here below
 All vapour quench'd?"—"Thou shalt be speedily,"
 He answer'd, "where thine eyes shall tell thee whence,
 The cause descrying of this airy shower."

Then cried out one, in the chill crust who mourn'd:
 "O souls! so cruel, that the farthest post
 Hath been assign'd you, from this face remove
 The harden'd veil; that I may vent the grief

¹ *In that fair region.*] Del bel paese là, dove 'l sì suona.

Italy, as explained by Dante himself, in his treatise *De Vulg. Eloq. lib. i. cap. 8.* "Qui autem Si dicunt a prædictis finibus (Januensium) Orientalem (Meridionalis Europæ partem) tenent; videlicet usque ad promontorium illud Italiæ, qua sinus Adriatici maris incipit et Siciliam."

² *Capraia and Gorgona.*] Small islands near the mouth of the Arno.

³ *There, very weeping suffers not to weep.*]

Lo pianto stesso lì pianger non lascia.

50 Giusto de' Conti, *Bella Mano. Son.* "Quanto il ciel."

Che il troppo pianto a me pianger non lassa.

Impregnate at my heart, some little space,
 Ere it congeal again." I thus replied :
 " Say who thou wast, if thou wouldst have mine aid ;
 And if I extricate thee not, far down
 As to the lowest ice may I descend."

" The friar Alberigo¹," answer'd he,
 " Am I, who from the ev'rt garden pluck'd
 Its fruitage, and am here repaid, the date²
 More luscious for my fig."—" Hah !" I exclaim'd,
 " Art thou too dead ?"—" How in the world aloft
 It fareth with my body," answer'd he,
 " I am right ignorant. Such privilege
 Hath Ptolomea³, that oft-times the soul⁴
 Drops hither, ere by Atropos divorced.
 And that thou mayst wipe out more willingly
 The glazed tear-drops⁵ that o'erlay mine eyes,
 Know that the soul, that moment she betrays,
 As I did, yields her body to a fiend
 Who after moves and governs it at will,
 Till all its time be rounded : headlong she
 Falls to this cistern. And perchance above
 Doth yet appear the body of a ghost,
 Who here behind me winters. Him thou know'st,
 If thou but newly art arrived below.

¹ *The friar Alberigo.*] Alberigo de' Manfredi of Faenza, one of the Frati Godenti, Joyous Friars, who having quarreled with some of his brotherhood, under pretence of wishing to be reconciled, invited them to a banquet, at the conclusion of which he called for the fruit, a signal for the assassins to rush in and dispatch those whom he had marked for destruction. Hence, adds Landino, it is said proverbially of one who has been stabbed, that he has had some of the friar Alberigo's fruit. Thus Pulci, Morg. Magg. c. xxv. Le frutte amare di frate Alberico.

² *The date.*] Come Dio rende dataro per fico.
Fazio degli Uberti, Dittamondo, l. iv. cap. xix.

³ *Ptolomea.*] This circle is named Ptolomea from Ptolemy the son of Abubus, by whom Simon and his sons were murdered, at a great banquet he had made for them. See 1 Maccabees, ch. xvi. Or from Ptolemy, king of Egypt, the betrayer of Pompey the Great. ⁴ *The soul.*] Chaucer seems to allude to this in the Frere's Tale, where a fiend assumes the person of a yeoman, and tells the Sompnour that he shall one day come to a place where he shall understand the mystery of such possessions,

Bet than Virgile, while he was on live,
 Or Dant also.

See Mr. Southey's Tale of Donica.

⁵ *The glazed tear-drops.*] — sorrow's eye, glazed with blinding tears.
Shakspeare, Rich. II. act ii. sc. 2.

The years are many that have past away,
Since to this fastness Branca Doria¹ came."

"Now," answer'd I, "methinks thou mockest me;
For Branca Doria never yet hath died,
But doth all natural functions of a man,
Eats, drinks, and sleeps², and putteth raiment on."

He thus: "Not yet unto that upper foss
By th' evil talons guarded, where the pitch
Tenacious boils, had Michel Zanche reach'd,
When this one left a demon in his stead
In his own body, and of one his kin,
Who with him treachery wrought. But now put forth
Thy hand, and ope mine eyes." I oped them not.
Ill manners were best courtesy to him.

Ah Genoese! men perverse in every way,
With every foulness stain'd, why from the earth
Are ye not cancel'd? Such an one of yours
I with Romagna's darkest spirit³ found,
As, for his doings, even now in soul
Is in Cocytus plunged, and yet doth seem
In body still alive upon the earth.

CANTO XXXIV.

ARGUMENT.

In the fourth and last round of the ninth circle, those who have betrayed their benefactors are wholly covered with ice. And in the midst is Lucifer, at whose back Dante and Virgil ascend, till by a secret path they reach the surface of the other hemisphere of the earth, and once more obtain sight of the stars.

"THE banners⁴ of Hell's Monarch do come forth
Toward us; therefore look," so spake my guide,

¹ *Branca Doria.*] The family of Doria was possessed of great influence in Genoa. Branca is said to have murdered his father-in-law, Michel Zanche, introduced in Canto xxii.

² *Eats, drinks, and sleeps.*] ——— But 'tis a spirit.

Pro. No, wench, it eats and sleeps, and hath such senses

As we have, such.

Shakspeare, Tempest, act i. sc. 2.

³ *Romagna's darkest spirit.*] The friar Alberigo.

⁴ *The banners.*] Vexilla regis prodeunt inferni.

A parody of the first verse in a hymn that was sung by the church in praise of the cross.

“If thou discern him.” As, when breathes a cloud
Heavy and dense, or when the shades of night
Fall on our hemisphere, seems view’d from far
A windmill¹, which the blast stirs briskly round;
Such was the fabric then methought I saw.

To shield me from the wind, forthwith I drew
Behind my guide: no covert else was there.

Now came I (and with fear I bid my strain
Record the marvel) where the souls were all
Whelm’d underneath, transparent, as through glass
Pellucid the frail stem. Some prone were laid;
Others stood upright, this upon the soles,
That on his head, a third with face to feet
Arch’d like a bow. When to the point we came,
Whereat my guide was pleased that I should see
The creature eminent in beauty once,
He from before me stepp’d and made me pause.

“Lo!” he exclaim’d, “lo Dis; and lo the place,
Where thou hast need to arm thy heart with strength.”

How frozen and how faint I then became,
Ask me not, reader! for I write it not;
Since words would fail to tell thee of my state.
I was not dead nor living². Think thyself,
If quick conception work in thee at all,
How I did feel. That emperor, who sways
The realm of sorrow, at mid breast from the ice
Stood forth; and I in stature am more like
A giant³, than the giants are his arms.
Mark now how great that whole must be, which suits
With such a part. If he were beautiful

¹ *A windmill.*] The author of the Caliph Vathek, in the notes to that tale, justly observes that it is more than probable that Don Quixote’s mistake of the windmills for giants was suggested to Cervantes by this simile.

² *I was not dead nor living.*]

— οὐτ’ ἐν τοῖς φθιμένοις,
οὐτ’ ἐν ζῶσιν ἀριθμουμένη.

Euripides, Supplices, v. 979. Markland’s edit.

— tum ibi me nescio quis arripit

Timidam atque pavidam, nec vivam nec mortuam.

Plautus, Curculio, act v. sc. 2.

³ *A giant.*] Nel primo clima sta come signore

Colli giganti; ed un delle sue braccia

Più che nullo di loro è assai maggiore.

Frezzi, Il Quadrir. lib. ii. cap. i.

As he is hideous now, and yet did dare
 To scowl upon his Maker, well from him
 May all our misery flow. Oh what a sight !
 How passing strange it seem'd, when I did spy
 Upon his head three faces¹: one in front
 Of hue vermilion, the other two with this
 Midway each shoulder join'd and at the crest ;
 The right 'twixt wan and yellow seem'd ; the left
 To look on, such as come from whence old Nile
 Stoops to the lowlands. Under each shot forth
 Two mighty wings, enormous as became
 A bird so vast. Sails² never such I saw
 Outstretch'd on the wide sea. No plumes had they,
 But were in texture like a bat³; and these

¹ *Three faces.*] It can scarcely be doubted, but that Milton derived his description of Satan, in those lines—

—Each passion dimm'd his face

Thrice changed with pale ire, envy, and despair. *P. L.* b. iv. 144.
 from this passage, coupled with the remark of Vellutello upon it: “ The first of these sins is anger, which he signifies by the red face; the second, represented by that between pale and yellow, is envy, and not, as others have said, avarice; and the third, denoted by the black, is a melancholy humour that causes a man's thoughts to be dark and evil, and averse from all joy and tranquillity.” Lombardi would understand the three faces to signify the three parts of the world then known, in all of which Lucifer had his subjects: the red denoting the Europeans, who were in the middle; the yellow, the Asiatics, on the right; and the black, the Africans, who were on the left; according to the position of the faces themselves.

² *Sails.*] Argo non ebbe mai sì grande vela,
 Ne altra nave, come l'ali sue;
 Ne mai tessuta fù sì grande tela.

Frezzi, Il Quadrir. lib. ii. cap. xix.

—— His sail-broad vans

He spreads for flight.

Milton, P. L. b. ii. 927.

Compare Spenser, *F. Q.* b. i. c. xi. st. 10; Ben Jonson's *Every Man out of his Humour*, v. 7; and Fletcher's *Prophetess*, act 2. scene 3. In his description of Satan, Frezzi has departed not less from Dante than our own poet has done; for he has painted him on a high throne, with a benignant and glad countenance, yet full of majesty, a triple crown on his head, six shining wings on his shoulders, and a court thronged with giants, centaurs, and mighty captains, besides youths and damsels, who are disporting in the neighbouring meadows with song and dance; but no sooner does Minerva, who is the author's conductress, present her crystal shield, than all this triumph and jollity is seen through it transformed into loathsomeness and horror. There are many touches in this picture that will remind the reader of Milton. ³ *Like a bat.*] The description of an imaginary being, who is called Typhurgo, in the *Zodiacus Vitæ*, has something very like this of Dante's Lucifer.

Ingentem vidi regem, ingentique sedentem
 In solio, crines flammanti stemmate cinctum,

He flapp'd i' th' air, that from him issued still
 Three winds, wherewith Cocytus to its depth
 Was frozen. At six eyes he wept: the tears
 Adown three chins distill'd with bloody foam.
 At every mouth his teeth a sinner champ'd,
 Bruised as with ponderous engine; so that three
 Were in this guise tormented. But far more
 Than from that gnawing, was the foremost pang'd
 By the fierce rending, whence oft-times the back
 Was stript of all its skin. "That upper spirit,
 Who hath worst punishment," so spake my guide,
 "Is Judas, he that hath his head within
 And plies the feet without. Of th' other two,
 Whose heads are under, from the murky jaw
 Who hangs, is Brutus¹: lo! how he doth writhe
 And speaks not. The other, Cassius, that appears
 So large of limb. But night now re-ascends;

——— utrinque patentes
 Alæ humeris magnæ, quales vespertilionum
 Membranis contextæ amplis—
 Nudus erat longis sed opertus corpora villis.

M. Palingenii, Zod. Vit. lib. ix.

A mighty king I might discern,
 Placed high on lofty chaire,
 His haire with fyry garland deckt
 Puft up in fiendish wise.

Large wings on him did grow
 Fram'd like the wings of flinder mice, &c. *Googe's Translation.*

Brutus.] Landino struggles, but I fear in vain, to extricate Brutus from the unworthy lot which is here assigned him. He maintains, that by Brutus and Cassius are not meant the individuals known by those names, but any who put a lawful monarch to death. Yet if Cæsar was such, the conspirators might be regarded as deserving of their doom. "O uomini eccellenti!" exclaims the commentator, with a spirit becoming one who felt that he lived in a free state, "ed al tutto degni a quali Roma fosse patria, e de' quali resterà sempre eterna memoria; legginsi tutte le leggi di qualunque repubblica bene instituta, e troveremo che a nessuno si propose maggior premio che a chi uccide il tiranno." Cowley, as conspicuous for his loyalty as for his genius, in an ode inscribed with the name of this patriot, which, though not free from the usual faults of the poet, is yet a noble one, has placed his character in the right point of view—

Excellent Brutus! of all human race

The best, till nature was improved by grace.

If Dante, however, believed Brutus to have been actuated by evil motives in putting Cæsar to death, the excellence of the patriot's character in other respects would only have aggravated his guilt in that particular. "Totius autem injustitiæ nulla capitalior est quam eorum, qui cum maxime fallunt id agunt, ut viri boni esse videantur." *Cic. de Off. lib. i. cap. xiii.*

And it is time for parting. All is seen."

I clipp'd him round the neck ; for so he bade :
And noting time and place, he, when the wings
Enough were oped, caught fast the shaggy sides,
And down from pile to pile descending stepp'd
Between the thick fell and the jagged ice.

Soon as he reach'd the point, whereat the thigh
Upon the swelling of the haunches turns,
My leader there, with pain and struggling hard,
Turn'd round his head where his feet stood before,
And grappled at the fell as one who mounts ;
That into hell methought we turn'd again.

"Expect that by such stairs as these," thus spake
The teacher, panting like a man forespent,
"We must depart from evil so extreme :"
Then at a rocky opening issued forth,
And placed me on the brink to sit, next join'd
With wary step my side. I raised mine eyes,
Believing that I Lucifer should see
Where he was lately left, but saw him now
With legs held upward. Let the grosser sort,
Who see not what the point was I had past,
Bethink them if sore toil oppress'd me then.

"Arise," my master cried, "upon thy feet.
The way is long, and much uncouth the road ;
And now within one hour and half of noon¹
'The sun returns." It was no palace-hall
Lofty and luminous wherein we stood,
But natural dungeon where ill-footing was
And scant supply of light. "Ere from the abyss
I separate," thus when risen I began :
"My guide ! vouchsafe few words to set me free
From error's thralldom. Where is now the ice ?
How standeth he in posture thus reversed ?
And how from eve to morn in space so brief
Hath the sun made his transit ?" He in few
Thus answering spake : "Thou deemest thou art still
On the other side the centre, where I grasp'd

¹ *Within one hour and half of noon.*] The Poet uses the Hebrew manner of computing the day, according to which the third hour answers to our twelve o'clock at noon.

The abhorred worm that boreth through the world.
 Thou wast on the other side, so long as I
 Descended ; when I turn'd, thou didst o'erpass
 That point¹, to which from every part is dragg'd
 All heavy substance. Thou art now arrived
 Under the hemisphere opposed to that,
 Which the great continent doth overspread,
 And underneath whose canopy expired
 The Man, that was born sinless and so lived.
 Thy feet are planted on the smallest sphere,
 Whose other aspect is Judecca. Morn
 Here rises, when there evening sets : and he,
 Whose shaggy pile we scaled, yet standeth fix'd,
 As at the first. On this part he fell down
 From heaven ; and th' earth, here prominent before,
 Through fear of him did veil her with the sea,
 And to our hemisphere retired. Perchance,
 To shun him, was the vacant space left here,
 By what of firm land on this side appears²,
 That sprang aloof." There is a place beneath,
 From Belzebub as distant, as extends
 The vaulted tomb³; discover'd not by sight,
 But by the sound of brooklet, that descends
 This way along the hollow of a rock,
 Which, as it winds with no precipitous course,
 The wave hath eaten. By that hidden way
 My guide and I did enter, to return
 To the fair world : and heedless of repose
 We climb'd, he first, I following his steps,
 Till on our view the beautiful lights of heaven
 Dawn'd through a circular opening in the cave :
 Thence issuing we again beheld the stars.

¹ *That point.*] Monti observes, that if this passage had chanced to meet the eye of Newton, it might better have awakened his thought to conceive the system of attraction, than the accidental falling of an apple. *Proposta* v. iii. p^{te} 2. p. lxxviii. 8°. 1824. ² *By what of firm land on this side appears.*] The mountain of Purgatory. ³ *The vaulted tomb.*] "La tomba." This word is used to express the whole depth of the infernal region.

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